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STUDIES IN
LATER MUGHAL HISTORY OF THE PANJAB

"Those who cannot remember the
past are condemned to repeat it."

—George Santayana

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STUDIES IN

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Later Mughal History of the Panjab

1707—1793

BY

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Forman Christian College, Lahore.

WITH A FOREWORD BY
SIR SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN

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FOREWORD

I HAVE read Professor Gupta's work entitled *Studies in Later Mughal History of the Panjab, 1707—1793* with the deepest interest. It is an exceedingly broad analysis of the chief sources for the history of the Punjab in the middle of the eighteenth century. Curiously enough few historians have hitherto attempted a study of this period on scientific lines, and the entire period of the Punjab under the Mughals awaits the study of a band of enthusiastic researchers. Professor Gupta may be regarded as one of the pioneers in a wholly unknown period. He belongs to the select circle of the Punjab historians which has already put the impress of its personality on everything it has touched. The Punjab which we all love had hitherto remained a land of mystery and imagination, in which hardy warriors broke lances with the invaders from the north-west, and ultimately became the spearhead of India against foreign invaders. In the eighteenth century, we find the emergence of virile personalities who were self-made by character, and who were distinguished alike for valour and organising prudence. The account of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasions of India will illustrate this clearly. Ahmad Shah Abdali was himself a self-made man, and this book brings out clearly enough the qualities of heroism and organisation which enabled him to tame the turbulent Afghans into subjection.

The work throws a vivid light on the decadence and degeneracy of the Mughal rulers. It is difficult to find a more contemptible set of rulers than the puppet kings who were set on the throne by designing ministers, and were disposed of uncereemoniously when they proved recalcitrant. India in the middle of the eighteenth century

was spotted like the Dalmatian hound, and the Persians under Nadir Shah no less than the Afghans under Ahmad Shah Abdali subjected all Indians with strict impartiality. The account of the sacking of Delhi as well as of the tortures employed by the Afghans to extract information about hidden treasures, makes gruesome reading. The treatment of ladies of the Imperial harem was horrible, and the notorious Mughlani Begam seems to have performed the self-imposed task of conveying minute information of all the beauties of the Mughal Court to the Afghan Chief. The Punjab suffered terrible privations from the Afghan invaders, and the country was laid waste for hundreds of miles. The Afghan troops were grateful to Ahmad Shah on over two occasions for giving the whole country over to the army. The Mughal ministers were a set of cowards whose immorality, effeminacy and love of ease ensured the ruin of the Empire, and logically led to the subjection of Northern India. The book unfolds a tale of incompetence, treason and corruption at the centre of power which is without a parallel in the chequered annals of the Mughals in India. One has to go to the period of later Roman emperors to find a parallel to this period of moral decline. Patriotism had wholly disappeared, and its place was taken by allegiance to the chieftain, or feudal overlord. In the Punjab the Sikhs arose upon the ruins of the Mughal Empire, and built up a magnificent army and a stable administrative machinery out of the fragments of the old regime. They proved in the end too strong for the Afghans and ultimately built up a powerful state which mobilised their then enormous reserve of energy, and evoked feelings of devotion to the new state.

The reader will find the portion dealing with Mughlani Begam a fascinating reading. The widow of Mir Munnoo was not devoid of energy, and she could probably have succeeded in keeping up her husband's province for a short period, had she been able to control her organic capacity

for intrigue and her lust. She is an unlovely character, and her immorality and deceit set a bad example to her contemporaries. A woman of strong character she ruined her work by conducting her government through eunuchs, and became infamous by ultimately marrying a eunuch.

The two greater figures in this work are Adina Beg Khan, a consummate politician who knew how to maintain his position by trimming his *sari* to suit the wind, and Mir Munnoo, a man of great foresight whose valour and administrative ability made him one of the greatest rulers of the Punjab. Mir Munnoo defeated Ahmad Shah Abdali. Had he been adequately supported by the corrupt and inefficient government of Delhi, he might have been able to check the devastation and ruin of the Punjab for nearly fifteen years.

Meer Munnoo was one of the ablest of the Mughal Viceroys in the eighteenth century. Had there been set of men of this calibre at Delhi, the Mughal Empire might have been saved.

I have given an exceedingly brief analysis of a notable book of the Punjab history. It is a work of outstanding ability, and embodies the results of great industry. Professor Gupta has earned the thanks of students by undertaking this work. It is my earnest hope that he will continue it, and will deal with Mughal administration in the Punjab in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

New Delhi,
21-11-43.

SHAFAT AHMAD KHAN,
High Commissioner for India
in the Union of South Africa.

PREFACE

THE Panjab in the eighteenth century witnessed a clash of four great powers—the Mughals, the Marathas, the Durrani and the Sikhs ; and on the whole it was a period of continuous warfare. Many events of diverse nature took place in the land of the five rivers, in which several great characters played their part. The narrative therefore is full of romance, sensation and heroism as well as of treachery, tragedy and cruelty.

This monograph aims at removing to some extent the obscurity that enveloped the people and personalities treated of in these pages. The first half of the period deals with the process of dissolution of the Mughal rule in the Panjab, and the part played by the Sikhs and the two notable viceroys, Adina Beg Khan and Mughlani Begam. The second half gives a brief account of Ahmad Shah Durrani and his son and successor Timur Shah.

The Panjab, being an outlying province of Hindustan, and situated on the high-road from Central Asia, became the scene of struggles between the rising Sikhs and the rising Durrani Afghans.

The Durrani invasions led to the immediate collapse of the already much weakened authority wielded by the Mughal Emperors of Delhi. Lahore, Multan, Sind, Kashmir and Sirhind were all lost and incorporated in the dominions of Ahmad Shah Durrani. The Durrani hold over the Cis-Sutlej territory was the weakest even after their victory at Panipat, and they failed to establish a permanent administration even in the province of Lahore.

Most of the material of this work appeared in several learned Journals and compilations. The chapter on the rise of the Sikhs was published in the centenary commemoration volume on Maharaja Ranjit Singh printed at Cawnpore. Short papers on Adina Beg Khan and Mughlani Begam were published in Islamic Culture, while the former was printed almost in its present form in the Journal of the Panjab University Historical Society. The 1764 invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani appeared in the Journal of Indian History; while a fairly large portion of some of his campaigns formed a part of the first volume of my Sikh History. This account is given here to present a complete view of the man with regard to his career in India. The article on the Durrani Empire at Shah Zaman's accession was published by the Government of India in the Proceedings of the Indian Historical Records Commission. The First Sikh Coin of Lahore appeared in the Proceedings of Indian History Congress.

In the end I offer my best acknowledgments to Professor Indar Mohan Verma, B.A. (Cantab.), M.A. (Panjab), Professor Government College, Lahore, for kindly helping me in reading the proofs.

Lahore,
February, 1944.

H. R. GUPTA.

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CHAPTER I

GEOGRAPHICAL SURVEY OF THE PANJAB

1. *The Boundary and its Effects*

FOR a critical investigation into the history of a people or country it does not suffice to have acquired certain historical data, however authentic, unless they are illumined by a knowledge of the geography of the country. Hence a brief survey of the Panjab of this time will not be out of place.

The Panjab derives its name from a Persian compound comprising the words *Panj* (five) and *Āb* (water), and meaning the Land of the Five Rivers, which is watered by the Jhelum, the Chenab, the Ravi, the Beas and the Sutlej. It has remarkably well defined geographical limits, being bounded on the north by the Himalayan and sub-Himalayan ranges, on the west by the Sufed Koh and the Sulaiman mountains, on the east by the river Jumna and the Agra province, and on the south by the Sind and Rajputana deserts, a huge wedge of which reaches as far as the Sutlej.

The Sulaiman range¹ is low and dry. The countries beyond it are rocky and rugged, and are hemmed in by mountains. Instead of plains, there are vast undulations of the earth. As a consequence they are unproductive. The inhabitants are poor and needy, and want has compelled them to look to neighbouring and more fortunate countries for a livelihood. The Indo-Gangetic plain, with its net-work of

¹The Sulaiman range is, from north to south, about three hundred miles in length. Cf. *Thornton*, ii, 254.

perennial rivers, abundance of agricultural produce, hoarded riches and all the luxuries of the times, coupled with a weak government, afforded them an ideal place to satisfy their needs, desires and ambitions. The Sulaiman, the only barrier in their way, allowed them an easy passage through its famous passes. The climatic conditions had also given them such strength as could enable them easily to overpower the luxurious dwellers of the hot plains of Northern India.

The Bolan¹ Pass in Baluchistan had not achieved so much fame in the 18th century as it has at the present day. It was not the most frequented pass, because it led the invader, not to the rich plains, but to the vast deserts of Sind and Rajputana which intervened between him and the fertile provinces of India. The suffocating dust-storms, the scorching sun, the burning sand, the scarcity of water and the want of food and fodder would send the invaders to the grave rather than to their El Dorado.

That accounts for the numerous foreign invasions, twenty of which were witnessed by the Panjab during the short period of sixty years from 1739 to 1799.

2. *Main Natural Regions and their Importance*

Leaving aside the Himalayan region with which we are not here concerned, the Panjab conveniently falls into three main natural divisions :

I. The Submontane Tract, stretching from the Jumna to the Jhelum, consists of low hills varying in height from 1,000 ft. to 3,000 ft., valleys, called *doons*, and a plain lying at the foot of the hills. It occupies the upper

¹ The Bolan Pass "is not so much a pass over a lofty range, as a continuous succession of ravines and gorges, commencing near Dadur and first winding among the subordinate ridges stretching eastward from the Hala chain of mountains." Its total length is nearly fifty-five miles and average ascent ninety feet in the mile. *Thornton*, i, 109-11.

portions of the districts of Ambala, Hoshiarpur, Kangra, Gurdaspur, Sialkot, Gujrat and Jhelum. It is a fertile region, receives plenty of rainfall, and abounds in vegetation. The chief products are rice, maize and the mango. Wild animals, mainly deer, roam about here in herds. This tract is covered by a vast net-work of streams which carry an immense volume of water from the hills to the plains in the rainy season, cutting the earth into deep gorges. It was easy of access to the dwellers of the plains of the Panjab. Consequently, this region served as the best hiding ground for the people of the plains, whenever they were threatened by the invaders or oppressed by the government. To the refugees this retreat provided not only security but also ample food and plenty of game.

II. The Eastern Plain Region comprises the country situated between the Ravi and the Jumna, and is more fertile and rainy, and hence richer in product and population than the western part of the Panjab. In it lay almost all the flourishing towns of the time: Delhi, Lahore, Jullundur and Sirhind, the seats of various governments. The southern parts of this tract, merging into the desert of Rajputana, served as another rendezvous for marauders and freebooters. The northern and central portions of the region were further subdivided into *Manjha* and *Malwa*. The *Manjha* is a high upland situated between the Ravi and the Sutlej. In the north it was protected by the forest tracts of Gurdaspur, and in the south by the arid and dreary desert-region of Montgomery. It is broad and fairly cultivated towards the north. In the south it contracts, becoming more and more of a desert, covered only with low bushes and at times with long grass, much valued as a pasture-ground for horses and cattle. This tract, devoid of water, was situated in the centre of the "Bari Doab" and was covered with a dense forest of *plās* and thorny plants.¹ This is why it became the home of the Sikhs who

¹Ahmad Shah, 493.

wanted to hide from their persecutors. Being nurtured in such natural surroundings, the *Manjha* Jats grew into hardy warriors of an unusual independence of character.¹

The Jats of this region were cultivators who tilled the soil with their own hands. A rich diet, consisting of wheat, milk and butter combined with an open-air life, made them strong and sturdy. Theirs was a life of great simplicity, homeliness and contentment. The last element, however, gave way when the government assumed a policy of persecution against them.

Malwa in the local vocabulary is the name of the country lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna, and forms the watershed. This plain has from times immemorial witnessed the most fiercely contested battles of Indian history. The foreign invader, having crossed the mountains and the river Indus, found no difficulty in going across the easily fordable rivers of the Panjab. But in this tract he was opposed by the Delhi monarch; and if the foreigner was victorious, the empire of northern India fell like a ripe fruit into his hands.

The greater part of this plain is sandy. It is watered by about a dozen streams² which come from the hills in huge volume during the rainy season, bringing down and spreading over the plains great quantities of sand and silt. Narrow in the east, it widens gradually towards the west. This region was another home of the Sikhs who followed a different line of action from that of their *Manjha* brethren in the struggle

¹ The first six Sikh Gurus had also long associations with this tract. Guru Nanak lived at Derah Baba Nanak on the Ravi, Guru Angad resided at Khadur on the Beas, Guru Amar Das passed his life at Goindwal, while Guru Ram Das laid the foundation of Amritsar, and Guru Arjan built a splendid temple eventually turning the place into the religious capital of the Sikhs. It was also the scene of the earliest battles of the Sikhs under Guru Hargobind.

² Ghaggar, Tāngri, Mārkaṇḍa, Sarasvatī and Kosla are important. *Tarikh-i-Makhzan-i-Panjab*, 79.

for independence. The sandy desert provided them a secluded territory where they quietly pursued their course of life. Here, too, the *Manjha* Sikhs often took refuge when they were driven from their homes by their oppressors.

III. The Western Plain Tract stretches from the Ravi to the Indus. It was a dry, desert region, abounding only in thorny plants and tall grass. The cultivation was mainly carried on along the courses of the rivers. The river banks were covered with a thick over-growth of vegetation which served as a shelter for thieves, robbers and outlaws. Multan was the only important place in this region.

3. *Climate, Rainfall and Soil*

The climate, excepting in the mountainous tract, is dry. In winter the weather is cold and even frosty at night. The heat in summer is intense, and in many parts oppressive. The rainfall is deficient and uncertain. Most of it occurs in July and August and a little in December and January. The submontane region receives the heaviest rainfall, the Eastern Plain gets an adequate supply, while the Western Plain is almost rainless. The greater part of the Panjab plain is made up of alluvial soil deposited by its rivers. It is naturally very fertile and yields good crops with little cultivation.

4. *Forests*

On account of heavy rains in the hills and the submontane region, there were plenty of natural forests. Thick jungles of *dhāk* trees covered the country at the foot of the hills. Besides, there were several forests of note. One of them was the *Lakhi Jungle*. It was situated in Bhatinda district, measuring about 24 *kos*¹ on each side. On the north it was

¹ The *kos* was roughly speaking equal to $1\frac{1}{2}$ English miles in the 18th century, as is clear from the series of pillars extended along the Grand Trunk Road, the distance between each two being a *kos*.

bounded by the country of Rai Kalha (Jagraon), on the east by the province of Hariana, on the south by Bhatner, and on the west by the desert of Bikaner. It was noted for its fine pasture-grounds, admirable cattle and excellent horses, the breed of which was further improved by Persian horses, introduced during successive invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah Durrani. The inhabitants of this place were given to thieving, cattle-lifting, robbery and fighting, and the imperial officers were unable to punish or check them.¹

Another forest covered the country from Karnal to Ludhiana.² In the *doābs* also there was a thick over-growth of tall grass, reed and scrub stretching for miles along the river banks. All of these forests afforded excellent shelter to the Sikhs as well as to other predatory bands.

5. People

The Panjab was inhabited by four main tribes. The Jats comprised the Hindus in the south-east, the Sikhs in the centre and Musalmans in the west. The Rajputs, both Hindus and Musalmans, who were distributed all over the province, included the ruling tribes of Kangra and Jammu, the Bhattis of the south and centre, Chaththās of Gujranwala district, Syāls of Jhang, Chhibs of Gujrat, Janjuas of the Salt Range and Pawars of the south-west. The real home of the Gujars³ was the mountainous and submontane regions, but they had spread as far as the Jumna. Their stronghold was Gujrat. The Gujar is not a good cultivator, he is essentially a cattle-grazer. The Pathans, purely Muslim, were found in the whole of south-western Panjab. In the Jhelum district were the Gakhars, in the Salt Range the Awāns, the Khokhars in Shahpur and Jhang, the Kharrals on the Ravi, and the Daudpotras on the lower

¹ *Khulasat*, 63; *George Thomas*, 132-3.

² *Sarkār*, i, 185.

³ "Almost all the thieves in Hindustan are of this tribe." *Malcolm*, 136, f. n. 2.

courses of the Sutlej.

The Jats were in every respect the most important of all the agricultural tribes in the province. They formed the flower of the Sikh armies, and as a people, they would in any country be deemed as fine specimens of the human race. Industrious, frugal, honest and simple, as they were, they proved admirable soldiers, inferior to none in India. Though without the dash and fanaticism of the Afghans, they were far more trustworthy in difficult circumstances. They were strong, tall and muscular with well-shaped limbs, erect carriage and strongly-marked and handsome features. The dry, vigorous and healthy climate of the province and the circumstances in which they were born and bred had all combined in making them a hardy, martial race destined to play a rôle unknown in the history of the province for nearly eight hundred years past.

6. *Rivers and their Influence*

The Panjab possesses a net-work of snow-fed rivers, which have played the most important part in the history of the country. These rivers have not only added to the agricultural prosperity of the province but have also been useful in various other ways. They have served as boundaries of *subāhs*, *sarkārs* and *doābs* since the time of Akbar. They were used as a means of defence, because in those days, when the building of bridges and provision of boats were no easy tasks for the invader, they served as a barrier in his way, especially during the rains when they became almost impassable. In view of this difficulty the invaders followed a more northerly route to Delhi, just below the hills, where the river was narrow and the work of bridge-building easier. For the same convenience they invaded India in the beginning, and departed at the end of winter, thus enjoying the best weather of this country, whilst avoiding the worst season of their own land. On the other hand, forts were built on their banks especially on the highway to check the

progress of the invader and to afford protection to the inhabitants of the place.

Because of the general state of insecurity the population was attracted to the rivers, along whose course a number of ferry-towns came into existence. The first ferry (*Shah Guzar*) on the Indus was at Attock,¹ under the protection of a massive fort built by Akbar in 1583. The famous Grand Trunk Road crossed the Indus at this point. There was another ford at Nilāb,² situated at a distance of 35 *kos* from Peshawar.³ The third ferry was near Kālābāgh, and on crossing the river at this point the route led to Multan.⁴ The most famous ferry on the river Jhelum was just below the town of Jhelum. The Chenab had two well-known ferries at Akhnur⁵ and Wazirabad. The Ravi was crossed at Mirowal and just below the Lahore fort.⁶ The Beas is said to have thirty-two⁷ ferries between Mandi and its confluence with the Sutlej, but only those at Wirowal, Goindwal and Rohilla Ghat were famous.⁸ The Sutlej had four ferries, at Ropar, Māchhiwāra, Ludhiana and Hari-ka-patan.

¹ Attock comes from a Hindi word "*Atakna*" (to stop). The Indus was in pre-Mughal times the last boundary of India and was not allowed to be crossed without a pass from the Kabul Government. At the narrowest spot it was 537 feet wide, and from twenty to thirty boats were required to build a bridge at this point. The bridge was maintained by an association of boatmen to whom the government granted the revenue of a village for this service. They also received a small daily allowance in addition to the toll levied on passengers. Cf. Thornton, i, 60.

² Nilāb means *blue water*, which name has been assigned to it from deep blue colour of the water of the Indus at this place. It is situated on the left bank of the Indus, a short distance below Attock.

³ *Chahar Chaman*, 62b; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 41; *Bute Shah*, 6a.

⁴ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 42.

⁵ Akhnur is situated a little above Jammu at the foot of the hills.

⁶ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 42.

⁷ *Sair-i-Panjab*, i, 7.

⁸ *Khulasat*, 76.

They were also useful for trade purposes, because country boats could ply up and down these rivers carrying various goods from place to place, not only within this province but also to Sind. Wood was also brought down the rivers from the hills to the plains.¹

7. *The Doābs*

The Panjab is essentially a land of the five *doābs*.² The *Bist Jullundur Doāb*, situated between the Sutlej and the Beas, though the smallest of all, surpassed the rest in population and agricultural produce. No part of it was desert. Grain grew here in such abundance that it could meet the needs of the whole province, and was therefore rightly called the granary of the Panjab.³ It consisted of 69 *mahāls*. The important towns were Jullundur, Sultanpur, Kapurthala, Kartarpur, Alawalpur, Sham Chaurasi, Tanda, Mukerian, Rahon and Sarai Nurmahal.⁴

The *Bari Doāb*, situated between the Beas and the Ravi, is the largest of all the *doābs*. It consisted of 57 *mahāls* and contained a number of famous cities and towns—Lahore, Amritsar, Kasur, Multan, Jandiala, Dinanagar and Batala.⁵

The *Rechna Doāb*, situated between the Ravi and the Chenab, consisted of 49 *mahāls*. It was on the whole a

¹ Alexander Burnes's *Travels*, i, 50.

² "Doāb" is a Persian word, consisting of "do" (two) and "āb" (water) and it means the land between two rivers that join. It is the peculiarity of the Panjab that all of its rivers join each other separately and then collectively. It is also interesting to note that in the case of the four "doābs" the name of each is composed of the first letters taken from the names of the two rivers by which it is enclosed.

³ *Ali-ud-din*, 18b.

⁴ *Bute Shah*, 7a-10b.

⁵ The existence of the two largest cities of the Panjab in this *doāb* viz., Lahore and Multan, gave it an importance not possessed by any other *doāb*; it also excites an interest as regards the Sikhs, in having the *Manjha* tract, the real home of the Sikhs, within its limits.

barren land and was not fit for cultivation. Its lower portion was called the *Sāndal Bar*.¹ The important places in this *doāb* were Wazirabad, Sialkot, Eminabad, Jhang and Maghiana.²

The *Chaj Doāb*, between the Chenab and the Jhelum, consisted of 22 *mahāls*. This tract was devoid of water, and was covered with thorny plants and bushes. Among the places of note there were Gujrat, Shāhpur, Bhera, Miāni, Sāhiwal and Miān Daulah.³

The *Sind Sagar Doāb* is situated between the Jhelum and the Indus. It consisted of 48 *mahals*, of which 42 were in the Lahore province and the rest in Multan. The surface of this tract was partly hilly and partly desert. Water was scarce, population scanty and towns rare. The desert part was called the *Thal*. Attock, Rohtas, Jhelum, Pind Dadan Khan and Hasan Abdal were the places of note.⁴

8. Political Divisions

The Panjab consisted of the two provinces of Lahore and Multan and the *sarkar* of Sirhind which was a part of the Delhi province. It is interesting to note that the influence of geographical forces working at the period was clearly indicated by these political divisions of the province. The chief concern of the Delhi kings in those days was to guard the north-west frontiers, in order to check the progress of the foreign invader. The Indus, which was the first natural barrier in his way, could be approached by the enemy from three different quarters. He could enter India either through the northern passes of Khyber and Kurram, or by the Bolan Pass in the south, or through the *delta* of the

¹ This tract now known as "Chenab Colony" abounds in smiling fields of grain and big towns.

² *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 42; *Bute Shah*, 26b-27b.

³ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 42; *Bute Shah*, 38a.

⁴ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 42; *Bute Shah*, 38a; *Chahar Chaman*, 194a.

Indus *via* Mekran. Consequently, three strong forts were built to guard these routes. Attock defended the northern, Sehwan¹ the central and Thatta² the southern passage. Some other base was also required to reinforce the garrisons in these forts in cases of emergency. One administrative centre could not serve this purpose on account of the great distance between the northern and the southern routes, especially in the absence of good roads and rapid means of communication. Hence two seats of government were established at Lahore and Multan.

Lahore was situated on the Grand Trunk Road in the centre between the imperial capital at Delhi and the Khyber Pass, and nearly at the same distance from Multan. It occupied a safe position on the bank of the Ravi and commanded a rich and fertile territory. Roads to Kāngra, Jammu and Kashmir trifurcated from this place. On account of its strategic importance, it became the chief military base with a storehouse, a stronghold and a great market.

Multan commanded an equally important position in the southern part of the province. It controlled the waters of the Panjab rivers and also the roads leading to Delhi *via* Marot, to Lahore and Sirhind *via* Dipalpur and to Jaisalmir *via* Derwar, including the routes from the Tochi,

¹ Sehwan, sometimes called Sewistan is situated on the Indus nearly 100 miles above Hyderabad. For interesting details of the place see Alexander Burnes's *Travels into Bokhara and a Voyage on the Indus*, Vol. iii, pp. 52-9.

² Thatta is situated about three miles west of the right bank of the Indus, and four miles above the point where the eastern and western branches of the river separate. "It is said that in 1742, when Nadir Shah entered this city at the head of his army, there were 40,000 weavers, 20,000 other artisans, and 60,000 dealers in various departments. Alexander Hamilton, who visited Thatta in 1699, calls it a very large and rich city, about three miles long, and one and a half broad, and states that 80,000 persons had, within a short time previously, died of the plague, and that one-half of the city was uninhabited." *Thornton*, ii, 267.

the Gomal and the Bolan Passes. Besides, it was connected with all the important places in the *doābs* of the province through the rivers. Its geographical position, therefore, made it the most important centre of trade in the south where Panjab goods were brought through the rivers, and where they were exchanged by caravans for the commodities of Afghanistan, Baluchistan and Iran.

The province of Lahore extended from the Sutlej to the Indus, 180 *kos* in length from Bhimbar¹ to Chaukhandi, and 87 *kos* in width. It consisted of five *sarkārs* which contained 327 *mahāls* in 1759. The total area of the measured land in 1759 was 24,319,960 *bighas* and the total provincial revenue Rs. 1,59,81,111.

The province of Multan extended from Ferozepur to Sewistan, 403 *kos* in length, and from Khatpur to Jaisalmir, 180 *kos* in breadth. It consisted of 4 *sarkārs* and 113 *mahāls* in 1759. The total area of the measured land was 4,454,207 *bighas* in 1759 and the total provincial revenue Rs. 45,90,786.

Similar is the case with regard to Sirhind division of the Delhi province. It commanded a strategic position of great magnitude. It was flanked on the eastern side by the Jumna and Sirmoor hills, on the west by the Sutlej and the state of Bahawalpur, by mountains on the north and by the desert of Bikaner on the south. It was about 220 miles in length from east to west, and 160 miles in breadth. It was the water-parting upland between the Indus and the Gangetic valleys. The invader after crossing the Sutlej could straightway march to Delhi without encountering any natural obstacle; but of course he had to measure his strength with the Delhi armies which, as a rule, advanced to oppose him. That is why the Sirhind plain has served as the battle-field of India from times

¹ Bhimbar is situated 29 miles north of Gujrat on a small stream, which falls into the Chenab, on the route from Lahore to Kashmir, through the Baramgalla Pass.

immemorial. It was studded with strong forts, such as Delhi, Kunjpura, Kaithal, Sirhind, Ludhiana and Machhiwara. It was the largest subdivision of the Delhi province and contributed nearly one-fourth of the total revenue of the province which is given as Rs. 2,64,65,892 by *Chahar Gulshan*. The *sarkār* of Sirhind consisted of 38 *mahāls*, and its total area of measured land was 15,786,388 *bighās*.

Delhi was ideally situated to serve as the Imperial capital of India. From very ancient times Delhi, with the exception of a few breaks, has been the chief seat of the government. It commanded the Indus valley as well as the Gangetic basin. No physical obstacles separated it from the north-western frontier, and as a consequence the Delhi sovereign could easily send troops to the defence of this ever-threatened border. At the same time he was distant enough to be caught unawares by the invaders. The warlike Rajput princes of Rajputana and Central India could be overawed and kept down by the presence of the imperial power at Delhi which was not far from their seats of government. Through the easily navigable Jumna and the Ganges communications could be carried on with the provinces of Agra, Oudh, Allahabad, Bihar, Bengal and Assam. Besides, Delhi stood at the head of the richest and most populous provinces of India which the sovereign could command in person and thus could safely depend on his own material resources.¹

¹ This section is based on *Khulasat-ut-Twarikh*, *Chahar Gulshan*, *Chahar Chaman*, Ahmad Shah's *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, Bute Shah's *Twarikh-i-Panjab*, Ali-ud-din's *Ibrat Namah*, and *Historic Geography of the Panjab*, published in the Muslim University Journal, Aligarh.

CHAPTER II

DISSOLUTION OF THE MUGHAL RULE IN THE PANJAB

1. *The Rise of Various States*

THE policy of Aurangzeb had unfolded forces of disruption in the centralising tendency of the Mughal Empire, even during his own lifetime. The Marathas in the south, the Jats and Rohillas in the centre and the Sikhs in the north raised their heads. During the disturbed reigns of his weak successors, these forces developed by leaps and bounds with the result that during a short space of time, the Marathas became dominant not only in the south but also in the north, carrying their depredations to the very gates of Delhi. The Jats carved out their independent principality in the close neighbourhood of the imperial capitals of Agra and Delhi. Another people known as the Rohillas made rapid strides in gaining power and territory in the Gangetic Doab. The two Mughal provinces of Oudh and Hyderabad (Deccan) soon broke off from the empire and their example was followed by others. The final death-blow to the remnant of the past glory and prestige of the great Mughals was, however, dealt by the invasions of the dreaded Nadir Shah and his successor Ahmad Shah Durrani, who invaded India no less than ten times and who during the course of his third invasion in 1752 wrested the provinces of Lahore, Multan and Kashmir, and the Sirhind division in 1757 from the Mughals. The circumstances which led to this deplorable change in the once so mighty an empire are briefly traced below.

2. Degeneration of the Imperial Dynasty

A study of contemporary works leaves on the mind of the reader a woeful impression of the court of Delhi. The emperors, their ministers and the nobles were the very embodiment of indolence, moral degradation, cunning, treachery and selfishness. Their patriotism and political vision were extremely narrow and restricted. The country was moreover unfortunate in having a succession of extremely weak kings.

Aurangzeb was succeeded by his eldest son Mu'azzam, entitled Bahadur Shah who had won the throne after the bloody battle of Jajau with his brother 'Azam. The new Emperor, then 64 years old, ruled for 5 years, during which time, not his ability, but the prestige of his father held the empire. Bahadur Shah, though a kind and generous ruler, possessed an ineffective personality and he justly earned the nickname of (*Shah-i-Bekhabar*) the "Heedless King".

On his death in 1712 again ensued a scramble for the throne among various claimants, and ultimately the eldest son of Bahadur Shah was proclaimed emperor with the title of Jahandar Shah. He was effeminate in character, a coward.¹ He seldom attended to state affairs, leading a life of indolence, licentiousness² and ease.

After a disgraceful rule of eleven months he was dethroned by Farrukh Siyar, who was a thorough weakling and had no resolution, no constancy and no decision. He

¹ Jahandar Shah was struck with terror in the presence of a naked sword, so much so that on one occasion, he had run away from the place, forgetting his slippers and his turban falling off the head. Latif's *Panjab*, 182-3.

² The Emperor fell so violently in love with a low-bred woman, named Lal Kaur, that he became a mere tool in her hands and did whatever she dictated him. He also became so dead to all feelings of shame and honour, that, in passing through the bazars, he seized the wives and daughters of the people. *Khushhal Chand*, iii, 34a; Latif's *Panjab*, 185.

was low-spirited and sordidly inclined, and if at any time he showed any liberality in his disposition, it was when he enjoyed the company of low, vile people, equally destitute of morals and ability; and then he would freely bestow on them presents which they did not know what to do with, and offices which they were unable to manage.¹

weakly
In 1719 he was first blinded and afterwards strangled to death by the famous Sayyid Brothers, who then tried in quick succession two other weakly sprigs of the House of Babar. Rafi-ud-darjat was the first to ascend the throne; but like his predecessor he was completely in the power of the two Sayyids, who exercised full control over his person and palace. He died after a brief reign of about three months. His elder brother Rafi-ud-daulah was then raised to the throne. His story is no better than that of his predecessor. He was so much in the hands of the Sayyids that his going in and coming out of the court, what he ate and what he wore, in short his every act depended on their sweet will. He also passed away after a short rule of three months.²

The choice now fell on Muhammad Shah, whose accession, however, seems to have restored, to the throne of Delhi a little stability. He ruled for nearly thirty years; but this period of three decades, even though there were no civil wars, failed to arrest the process of decay which had already set in. The new Emperor was an inexperienced youth of 17 and possessed little resolution and enterprise. Before his accession he had been in confinement in the palace for seven years and so had received no education or training in the art of government. He was extremely handsome, of a strong and splendid build, and possessed natural intelligence and foresight. But actuated by his youthful passions, folly and pride, he resigned himself to

¹ *Siyār*, ii, 21.

² *Bayān*, 170. Harcharandas accuses the Sayyids of having poisoned these two brothers. *Chahār Gulzar*, 384a.

frivolous pursuits and the company of wicked and mean characters.¹ He utterly neglected the administration of the kingdom and so everything went to rack and ruin.

Muhammad Shah seldom displayed his independent will. In the beginning of his reign he was under the complete dominance of the Sayyid Brothers. Later he was under the sway of Koki, Raushan-ud-daulah and Abdul Ghafur till 1732, of Khan-i-Dauran and his brother Muzaffar Khan from 1732 to 1739, and of Amir Khan and his three companions, Muhammad Ishaq, Asad Yar and Safdar Jang up to the time of his death in 1748.²

The next emperor Ahmad Shah, the only son of Muhammad Shah, was 22 years old at the time of his accession. His mother was Udham Bai, originally a dancing-girl who possessed such charm and beauty that

¹ *Tarikh-i-Hindī* of Rustam Ali in *Elliot*, viii, 43. This is further supported by Khushhal Chand and Siyār, who mention a particular event. A certain girl named Koki, the daughter of a *faqir*, had fascinated Muhammad Shah so much, that she was entrusted by the Emperor with the Imperial scrutoire and private signet. Her signatures were put on state papers and she issued orders in her own name. Not even the greatest nobles of the court could approach the Emperor except through Koki. About this state of things Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk, the founder of the Hyderabad dynasty, who was then the Prime Minister of the Delhi Empire wrote a quatrain, the last verse of which is:—

“مردان نکنند خاک بر سر چکنند امروز زنی بجای عالمگیر است”

[What else can men do but throw dust on their heads, as to-day a woman sits in place of Aurangzeb.]

Cf. *Khushhal Chand*, iii, 16b.

Her boldness was such that she was wont to sing these two distiches of her own composition:—

“نوبت زکیان بمایان افتاد است بازی شگرفی بمیان افتاد است
شاید که سپهر سفلہ رقصد ز نشاط شمشیرزدن بدف زنان افتاد است”
Siyār, ii, 75.

[It is a strange phenomenon that hens have occupied the place of the imperial (cocks). Possibly the ignoble sky may dance in a fit of joy, as it has fallen to the lot of drummers to ply swords.]

² *Khushhal Chand*, iii, 16b-28a; *Sarkār*, i, 16-7.

Muhammad Shah had raised her to the dignity of a queen. Even in the palace she never got rid of her loose character, and several times fell under royal displeasure. Her intimacy with her personal servant, Javid Khan, had become a great scandal. The royal guards once staged a very interesting scene. They tied up a young ass and a bitch at the palace gate, probably on a day when a great *darbar* was to be held. When the nobles and other courtiers came to attend the court they audaciously urged them, saying, "First make your bow to these. This one (pointing to the ass) is the Nawab Bahadur (Javid Khan) and that (the bitch) is Hazrat Qudsia, the Queen-mother."¹

Ahmad Shah was a true son of his parents. He had been given no education and no training in the art of government. The sudden rise to unbridled power led him into a dissolute course of life. He fell into bad company, and wine and women became his ruling passion.²

Ahmad Shah was not a man of great intellect; all the period of his youth till manhood had been spent in the *harem*, and he had had no experience whatever of the affairs of a kingdom, or of the cares of government. Besides this he was surrounded by all kinds of youthful pleasures, which every person, seeing the turn of his mind was anxious to display before him to entice his fancy. As a natural consequence, he gave himself up entirely to pastime and sports, and bestowed no thoughts on the weighty affairs of the kingdom.³

He was dethroned, blinded and imprisoned by his Wazir, Imad-ul-Mulk, in 1754.

The last Emperor, in whose reign the Panjab ceased

¹ *Shākir*, 34-5. Cf. *Sarkār*, i, 335-6.

"و بمرتبه كه كره خرسه و ماده سنگ بر دروازه قلعه بسته برائے
مبجرائے هر دو ناپاك تكليف سلام بهر مبجرائی بيبياك مى نمود و
ميگفتند كه خر كره نواب بهادرست و سنگ ماده نواب قدسيه است"

² *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 34-5; *Siyār*, iii, 27; *Bayan*, 174.

³ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi* in *Elliot*, viii, 112.

entirely to form a part of the Mughal dominion, was Alamgir II, who succeeded Ahmad Shah. He was 55 years old when he came to the throne. He had been leading a life of poverty, want and seclusion since the accession of Farrukh Siyar in 1713 when he was a lad of 14. The circumstances luckily did not allow him to fall into a course of vice, and he had spent over 40 years of his retired life in religious devotion and study of books, especially of history. He came to the throne with the determination to work as strenuously and carefully as his great-grandfather Aurangzeb, whose title he had imitated; but he singularly failed in his aims because of his failing health, weak character, incapacity for leadership and the overriding influence of his Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk.¹

3. *Weak Character of the Delhi Wazirs*

In countries where the king is both absolute, weak, incapable or imbecile the interests of the people can only be conserved by the administration of a responsible chief minister. But the irony of fate seems to have worked its way even in this case. For the wazirs of the later Mughals, though in many cases energetic and capable, were influenced by the evil example of their masters, or despairing of their trust, deliberately neglected the affairs of the state. Mumin Khan, the first prime minister of Bahadur Shah, attempted to patch up things in order to obtain temporary relief; but postponed radical measures to a later day instead of nipping the evil in the bud.² He died in February, 1711, and his master ere he had appointed a successor, followed him to the grave in 1712. Jahandar Shah appointed Zulfikar Khan his chief minister. This man, though a renowned soldier and statesman, imitating his master's example, left the affairs of the state to a favourite, Raja Sobha Chand.³

¹ *Sarkār*, ii, 1-5.

² *Irvine*, i, 126.

³ *Ibid.*, 197, 257.

Farrukh Siyar conferred this post on Sayyid Abdullah Khan, one of the famous Sayyid Brothers. His energy and ability availed him nothing and he gave himself to intrigue and the pursuit of pleasure, leaving the affairs of the government to Diwan Ratan Chand.¹

The Sayyid was overthrown by Muhammad Shah, who appointed Amin Khan the first minister of the realm. The new minister died after a month and a half only.² Nizam-ul-Mulk succeeded him. But as Muhammad Shah gave him no support, and even initiated conspiracies against him, the capable and clever wazir, finding that administrative vigour and honesty meant his own ruin, resigned in disgust in 1724.³ He was succeeded by Qamar-ud-din Khan, the son of Amin Khan, who held the office for nearly a quarter of a century (1724-48). He was an extremely indolent man, given to the enjoyment of sensual pleasures.⁴ The master and his wazir alike indulged in their selfish pursuits, not caring for the administration.⁵

¹ *Ibid.*, 66 ; *Siyār*, ii, 21.

² *Bayān*, 171.

³ *Ibid.*, 172.

⁴ (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, i, 359. "مدتها بعیش و سرود گذرانید")

(*Siyār*, iii, 25. "غفلت شعار و همیشه مست باد خوشگوار مے بود")

("انہماک و استغراق و زیر در شرب مدام و صحبت قمر طلعتان گل اندام")

(*Ibid.*, iii, 9.

⁵ A pen picture by a contemporary historian will enable the reader to form an idea of the indifference to state-affairs of both the Emperor and his chief minister. He says: "For some years past it has been the practice of the imperial court that whenever the officers of the Deccan or Gujrat and Malwa reported any Maratha incursion to the Emperor, His Majesty, in order to soothe his heart afflicted by such sad news, either visited the gardens to look at the newly planted and leafless trees, or rode out to hunt in the plains; while the grand Wazir Itimad-ud-daulah Qamar-ud-din Khan went to assuage his feelings by gazing at the lotuses in some pools situated four leagues from Delhi, where he would spend a month or more in tents, enjoying pleasure or hunting fish in the rivers and deer in the plains. At such times Emperor and Wazir alike

Safdar Jang, the new Imperial Wazir, was Burhan-ul-Mulk Saadat Khan's sister's son and his son-in-law. He was the leader of the Irani party, and his sole aim was to break the power of the rival Turani party, which, for the past thirty years, had held the helm of affairs of the Indian Empire. He kept round him and in the provinces the Shia recruits of the Irani party, and by his selfish and one-sided policy hastened the fall of the Mughal Empire.

Javid Khan, formerly a slave, became all-powerful at the royal court. He was the superintendent of the Privy Council, head of the intelligence department, and in charge of the imperial elephants, confirmation of grants and appointments, the Begam's estates and the Emperor's privy purse. He was then created a *seven-hazāri* with the title of Nawab Bahadur.¹

The hereditary court nobles revolted against the elevation of Javid Khan, and they became almost independent. Javid Khan had made it a matter of policy to oppose Safdar Jang tooth and nail. The wazir in a fit of rage and exasperation resorted to the dagger, and put the eunuch to death on the 27th August, 1752.² The Emperor and his mother were deeply grieved. "Udham Bai put on white robes and discarded her jewels and ornaments,"³ after the manner of a widow. The Queen-mother determined to wreak vengeance on Safdar Jang and entered into intrigues with Intizam-ud-daulah and Imad-ul-Mulk, the leaders of the Turani party, and the deadliest foes of Safdar Jang. Plots and counter-plots were hatched, and ultimately they

lived in total forgetfulness of the administration, the collection of the revenue, and the needs of the army. No chief, no man, thinks of guarding the realm and protecting the people while these disturbances daily grow greater." *Mirat-i-Waridat*, 117-8 quoted in *Sarkār*, i, 12.

¹ *Sarkār*, i, 337-8.

² *Delhi Chronicle*, 73.

³ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 41.

succeeded in expelling Safdar Jang from chancellorship in March, 1753.

Intizam-ul-daulah Khan-i-Khanan, the second Mir Bakhshi, became the chief minister. He was the eldest son of the late Wazir Qamar-ud-din Khan. This man was extremely ease-loving and indolent by temperament; but he was considered the head of the Turani party. He remained in office for 15 months [March, 1753 to May, 1754]; and as expected his administration proved an utter failure.¹

The next wazir was Imad-ul-Mulk, who was the grandson of Asaf Jah Nizam-ul-Mulk. Born in June, 1737, he was only a lad when appointed; but he had already made a name for himself as a great scholar in several branches of knowledge. He possessed active habits and lively spirit, and was a brave soldier. Being a man of intrigues and plots, he easily managed to oust Intizam-ud-daulah and seize the chancellorship for himself. His rule proved most disastrous to the declining Mughal Empire, as his incapacity, selfishness and pride alienated the sympathy of all. "There has never been a wazir of Delhi whose rule was so barren of good result and so full of misery to himself and to the empire, to his friends and foes alike, as Imad-ul-Mulk's."²

4. *Party Factions at the Imperial Court*

The process of enervation which had already set in was further accentuated by the mutual wrangles of the court nobles. Party factions had arisen in the Imperial Court of Delhi immediately after the death of Aurangzeb; but they assumed a crystallised form during the reign of Farrukh Siyar. The Sayyid Brothers were at the helm of all state affairs, and the Emperor was merely a puppet in their hands. This he did not like, because he could not give free vent to his low desires and ambitions. Hence he gathered around

¹ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 41; *Sarkār*, i, 442, 464, 543.

² *Sarkār*, ii, 6.

him a company of friends who always opposed and intrigued against the Sayyids. Thus there came into existence two parties which were generally called the Emperor's friends and the Wazir's friends.

In the long reign of Muhammad Shah (1719-48), these party factions took a rather serious turn. They appeared in a more developed form, and the struggle between them became intensely acute. In consequence of so much incapacity on the part of the Emperor and so much sloth and supineness on that of the Wazir, enmities rapidly sprang up. As a matter of fact it had become almost necessary for the nobles to form parties in order to secure advancement and in many cases even to maintain their existence. There were generally two parties. The Irani party represented Iranis of the Shia persuasion; while the Turani party comprised in the main Sunnis of the same Central Asiatic stock to which the Mughal Emperors belonged. The Iranis possessed superior intelligence and polished manners. They were well-versed in revenue affairs and in the administration of the civil departments and the secretariat. The Turks on the contrary, excelled in fighting capacity and power of commanding and controlling armies. The struggle between the two grew more acute each day; till matters came to such a pass that the rise of one meant the ruin of the other.

5. *Deterioration of the Mughal Aristocracy*

The deterioration in the character of the Mughal aristocracy was going apace with the general all-round degeneration of the Mughal character. The emperors and wazirs led a life of profligacy and inactivity, and their example was closely followed by the courtiers. From the death of Aurangzeb to the accession of Muhammad Shah (1707-19), within a period of 12 years, seven bloody wars of succession took place, which swept the ranks of a large number of princes, warlike nobles and renowned soldiers. The armed contest between rival nobles had caused

further havoc in the destruction of noteworthy officers and soldiers.¹ Constant dissensions at the court resulted in a steady deterioration in the character of the martial nobility which was further augmented by the risings of Rajputs, Jats, Marathas, Sikhs and Afghans.

6. *Break-up of the Empire*

The inevitable result of such a state of things was that the respect and awe which the imperial name used to inspire in the hearts of men in power and office and even in the common walks of life had ceased to move them. Every one fancied himself of importance and entertained thoughts of shaking off constraint and of assuming independence.² As has already been mentioned, Nizam-ul-Mulk had retired to his own province in the Deccan where he declared his independence and laid the foundation of the existing dynasty of the Nizam in 1724. In the same year Saadat Khan became Governor of Oudh and ruled in almost complete independence. The Rohillas, an Afghan clan, made themselves masters of a rich and fertile tract situated to the north of the Ganges, which came afterwards to be known as Rohilkhand.³

¹ For instance the Nizam was able to confirm himself in the viceroyalty of the Deccan only after defeating three rivals. There took place three ruinous contests for the Governorship of Gujrat in which many commanders of note, such as Shujaat Khan and Rustam Ali Khan perished.

² Cf. *Jauhar-i-Samsam* in *Elliot*, viii, 73.

³ The real founder of the Rohilla power was Ali Muhammad, from whom has sprung the present line of Nawabs of Rampur. Originally a Hindu Jat, he was taken prisoner when a young boy by Daud in one of his plundering expeditions, at the village of Bankauli in the *pargana* of Chauhahla, and was converted to Islam and adopted by him. On Daud's death in 1721, Ali Muhammad took charge of his father's retainers and obtained possession of his treasures. He then joined Azmatullah Khan, the imperial *faujdar* of Moradabad, and with his connivance took advantage of the fast weakening power of the Delhi Emperors. He dispossessed local zamindars, seized Aonla and carved out for himself an independent principality in the present Bareilly district. Fearing retaliation by the

The Maratha power had been constantly rising in the Deccan for some years. They generally depended on the revenue from provinces belonging to other powers. The Marathas in those days directly administered only small districts while they raised contributions from other provinces governed by the Delhi Emperor or other chiefs. Since the Sayyid Brothers had, with the help of the Marathas, succeeded in installing Muhammad Shah on the imperial throne, the Emperor in 1720, confirming arrangements made by Sayyid Husain Ali, admitted the right of the Marathas to levy *chauth*, or assessment of one-fourth of the land revenue, over the entire Deccan and permitted them to raise an additional tenth of the land revenue called *sardeshmukhi*. They invaded Gujrat in 1726 in order to collect *chauth*; and by 1732 had succeeded in partly occupying Gujrat, partitioning Bundelkhand and overrunning Malwa. In 1733 they swarmed over the country up to Agra. The next year they again plundered the provinces of Agra and Ajmer without any opposition from the Imperial Court. In 1737 the Marathas under their leader, Baji Rao, suddenly appeared at the very gates of Delhi, but did not attempt to occupy the imperial capital and soon returned to the Deccan, having pillaged and burnt its suburbs.¹

Malwa was ceded to Balaji Rao Peshwa in 1741. In 1742 the Marathas captured Western Bengal, and started plun-

Emperor, he won over Qamar-ud-din Khan and was through him confirmed in the lands of which he had possessed himself. His munificence attracted daring young men to him and he soon became a leader of note. He joined the imperial forces against Saif-ud-din Muhammad Khan, one of the Sayyids of Bārah, who had rebelled, and so distinguished himself in the battle of Jansath that followed that the Emperor conferred on him the title of Nawab. His fame drew many Afghans of repute such as Rahmat Khan, Dundi Khan and Pāyenda Khan to his service. During Nadir's invasion he gained immense booty and many *parganahs* of the neighbourhood.

Maasir-ul-Umara, ii, 841-3; *Shākir*, 31; *Siyār*, ii, 92 and iii, 9-11; *Calcutta Review*, 1875, Vol. LXI; 202-4; *Sarkār*, i, 47-9.

¹ *Irvine*, ii, 276 and 305; *Khushhal Chand*, iii, 37b-43b; *Jauhar-i-Samsam* in *Elliot*, viii, 73-4; *Siyār*, ii, 79-80 and 90-1.

dering Bihar and Bengal almost annually, until in 1746 Emperor Muhammad Shah made peace with them by promising Rs. 25 lakhs as the *chauth* of Bengal and Rs. 10 lakhs as that of Bihar.¹ Orissa became a Maratha province in 1752, and thereafter the Marathas assumed the rôle of the chief power in India. Their assistance was often sought by the Emperors and their wazirs in maintaining their position, with the result that the politics of Delhi came to be dominated by them. In 1758 they entered the Panjab, and planted their banners at Lahore and Multan and northward to the river Chenab. But a year and a half later they were compelled to evacuate the Panjab by Ahmad Shah Durrani, who in 1761 inflicted upon them a crushing defeat in the third battle of Panipat. This blow for ever shattered their hope of conquering the Panjab.

These opportunities were not lost upon the Jats of the Agra province. Following the usual course of successful rebels, they withheld remittances, plundered the people and built the famous fort of Bharatpur, which served as a treasury for their booty and as the base of operations. They carried their plundering raids up to very gates of the imperial cities of Agra and Delhi, making the roads in this territory unsafe, and hindering both trade and traffic. By 1738 they had securely established their power, which was considerably enhanced during the later period.²

¹ *Sarkār*, i, 127.

² The first Jat Chief of note was Churāman, who put himself at the head of a body of banditti and plundered the travellers passing from Delhi to the Deccan, and carried his depredations up to the suburbs of the second imperial capital of Agra. Reputed to be generous to his followers, he gathered about him a band of daring and enterprising youth, with the result that he became a terror to the country around. He became so powerful that in 1707 he plundered Muhammad Azam Shah, a son of Aurangzeb of enormous booty. In 1710 he was present at the siege of Lohgarh against Banda. In 1713, in the war of succession between Farrukh Siyar and Jahandar Shah his succour was sought by Zulfikar Khan the prime minister to the latter. Farrukh Siyar was so much awed by him

7. *Weakening of the Imperial Authority in the Panjab*

For a long time the Mughal dynasty had by its wealth and brilliance inspired the people of the Panjab with awe. The marches of the great Mughals to their summer resorts in Kabul and Kashmir dazzled the minds of the inhabitants of this province. This impression of the greatness and glory of the house of Babar was further deepened by the great movements of huge armies across this province to carry on operations in the Khyber Pass, before Kandahar or Kabul or beyond in Central Asia.

But the forces that were eating into the vitals of the Delhi government made no exception in the case of the Panjab. Petty chiefs, brigands and robbers began to raise their head on every hand. Isa Khan Munj,¹ a Ranghar zamindar,

that he appointed him to the charge of the royal highway running from Delhi to the Chambal, thus legalising his robbery. The rapid rise of the Jat power aroused alarm and hatred in the heart of Raja Sawai Jai Singh of Jaipur. With the ready approval of the Emperor he led an expedition against Churāman and defeated him. His sons and followers became peaceful peasants; and thus perished all the work of Churāman. His successor, Badan Singh, a man of remarkable ability and versatility attempted to rebuild the Jat fortunes from the very foundation in the face of insurmountable difficulties both within and without. By concealing his unbounded ambition under the cloak of humility, he won over Jai Singh and obtained from him the *tikā*, the *nishān*, the *naqāra*, the five-coloured flag and the title of *Braja-raj*. He now established himself as a Raja and built and equipped a number of forts. He bribed Wazir Qamar-ud-din Khan to silence all complaints made against him. He then systematically mulcted the whole country round about of all its riches, till Nadir Shah's invasion vastly increased his power and dominion. (Father Francis Xavier Wendel's *Orme MSS.*, pp. 44-55; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 55; *Asiatic Annual Register*, 1802; pp. 12-3; *Khafi Khan*, ii, 668-9; *Qanungo's History of the Jats*, 35-76; *Sarkār*, ii, 424-31; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, i, 540-8.)

¹ This aspirant to power had grown so powerful by successful highway robbery that Bahadur Shah raised him to the position of a *mansabdar* and Jahandar Shah made him a *five-hazāri* and appointed him to the *faujdari* of Lakhi Jungle. These elevations emboldened him in his predatory excursions so much that he plundered and seized the neighbouring *parganahs* by dispossessing the local officials and zamindars. He also looted the

openly defied the Mughal authority in the Jullundur *Doāb*. Husain Khan Kheshgi, the head of the Afghan clans of Kasur, expelled the local Mughal officers and rose in open revolt.¹ Jang Panāh Bhatti was a terror in the tract from Hasan Abdal to the Ravi. Jang Mīr Mār, zamindar of Auliapur near Lahore, used to waylay the merchants and travellers passing between the Ravi and the Sutlej on their way to the provincial capital.² A similar state of lawlessness was in evidence in other parts of the province where adventurous and enterprising men were taking to the life of freebooters.³

8. *Neglect of the Frontier Province of Afghanistan*

The north west frontier of India constituted the only vulnerable point in the empire of the Mughals. On the strict control and good government of the province of Kabul, which had since the days of Akbar, formed the extreme boundary of the Indian Empire, depended the stability and prosperity of the government of Delhi. Unfortunately at this time, when the forces of disruption were let loose in several parts of the empire, the government of Kabul was in the hands of an indolent and negligent Governor, named Nāsir Khan, who had held this post since 1720. The Governor spent his time in hunting and in prayers, and neither he nor his master, the Emperor, took any interest in

caravans of Kabul and Kashmir when on their way to Delhi. He struck such terror into the hearts of men that even Abdul Samad Khan, the Viceroy-designate, could not proceed to Lahore without taking elaborate precautions. *Khafī Khan*, ii, 767-8; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, ii, 712 and 825-8.

¹ *Khafī Khan*, ii, 861-5; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, i, 604; *Siyār*, ii, 47.

² *Maasir-ul-Umara*, ii, 106.

³ The most notorious of such men were Tara Singh Randhawa of village Dharmkot in the Upper Bari *Doāb*, and Naurang zamindar of Sabzkot, near Zafarwal in Sialkot District. Besides individuals, the whole clans of Ranghars and Gujars of the eastern parts who were "predatory by instinct and tribal usage" were growing more and more refractory every day. (*Maasir-ul-Umara*, ii, 106; *Sohan Lal*, i, 103; *Ali-ud-din*, 95a-b; *Sarkār*, i, 185.)

the management of the affairs of this most important frontier province.¹

The revenues of Afghanistan fell far short of the expenses incurred by the government there, and the deficit used formerly to be made up by an annual allowance from the revenues of the Central Government; but no such monetary help had now been given for many years past. Consequently, Nāsir Khan's army had been in arrears for five years (1733-38) and the soldiers poorly fed, poorly armed and poorly equipped clamoured for even one year's dues in order to pay their creditors; but no attention was ever paid to the repeated applications of the Governor.²

9. *Nadir Shah's Invasion of India*

The process of disintegration and decay which had started making headway in the Mughal Empire might have been slow had not one of the most disastrous and fiercest

¹ The author of *Siyār-ul-Mutakharin* gives an interesting picture of this carelessness. He says: "Neither the *Subahdar*, nor the *Amir-ul-Umara* (the Delhi Wazir) kept himself informed about the roads and passes of the country. No guards remained on the roads. Owing to the weakness of the government, the local officers lost all fear of being called to account. None cared for any one else, none feared, none sought instructions from any (high officer). Everywhere every one did whatever he liked. Any one who wished could come and go (through the frontier roads); the Emperor and his nobles never heard of it. Neither the Emperor nor the Wazir ever enquired why no news-letter was coming to the court from any province or outpost." (*Siyār*, ii, 93.)

² The agent of the Governor of Kabul several times described the sad situation in Afghanistan; but he was given this answer by the Delhi Wazir: "Do you think that I am a petty simpleton that I shall be impressed by such a tale as yours? Our houses are built on the plains; we do not fear anything except what we can see with our own eyes. Your houses stand on lofty hills, and therefore you have probably sighted Mongol and Qizilbash armies from the roofs of your houses. Reply to your master that we are writing for money to the governor of Bengal; and when the Bengal revenue arrives after the rainy season the money due will be quickly sent to Kabul." (*Anand Ram*, 11-2; *Irvine*, ii, 324-5)

visitations of the foreign hordes under Nadir Shah,¹ the greatest Asiatic General of the time, taken place in India. It was, indeed, invited by the Government of Delhi itself. The Emperor had failed to extend his greetings to Nadir Shah on his accession to the throne of Iran, according to the old custom which prevailed between these two countries; and no heed had been paid to Nadir Shah's repeated entreaties to prevent his enemies, against whom he was waging a war, from taking shelter in the Mughal province of Afghanistan.²

¹ The story of the rise of Nadir Shah to power is at once grand and surprising. Born in a poor Turkoman family of Khorasan in 1688, he passed his boyhood in extreme poverty and privation. To keep body and soul together he turned robber. His genius for leadership and bold exploits won him many companions and he soon came to command a large band of hardy and adventurous followers.

At this time Iran was passing through a gradual process of dissolution. Khorasan was soon lost to it, Kandahar was seized by the Afghans in 1717, and Iran was occupied by them in 1722. Nadir was fired with national enthusiasm and unbounded ambition. He marched at the head of his band, defeated the Afghan ruler of Khorasan and recovered Kandahar. This service in the national cause made him a hero at once and he became the centre of all national efforts to throw off the Afghan yoke, and the best soldiers began to pour in under his banner. His military genius eventually succeeded in recovering Iran for the Iranis. Then he restored the old dynasty of the Persian Emperors and the new king Shah Tahmasp showed his gratitude by granting Nadir half of his empire with a richly jewelled crown and the right of coining money.

All was not quiet yet in the country. Riots, rebellions and disturbances were rife everywhere, while the Afghans were making every possible effort to regain power. When Nadir was away to a distant place to quell agitation, the Afghans defeated Shah Tahmasp. This caused widespread indignation against the king and unlimited enthusiasm for Nadir. With one voice the people urged him to assume the crown for himself and consequently Shah Tahmasp was deposed in 1732. Nadir declined to sit on the throne and proclaimed Abbas, an eight-month old son of Tahmasp, as King, himself acting as his regent with full authority. Four years later the Baby-King died and Nadir succeeded him with the title of *Shahanshah* Nadir Shah. (*Bayān*, 2-21; *Anand Ram*, 34; *Irvine*, ii, 317-20; *Jahan Kusha*, 1-222.)

² *Jahankusha*, 222-47; *Bayān*, 23, *Siyār*, ii, 93-4; *Irvine*, ii, 321-2.

Nadir Shah was, however, determined to punish his enemies. In May, 1738, he marched in pursuit of the Afghan refugees in Kabul. Ghazni capitulated without any resistance, while the fort of Kabul was easily captured. From here the conqueror sent a friendly message to Nāsir Khan, the Governor of Afghanistan, then encamped at Peshawar, and another to Delhi; but no attention was given to it. On the contrary Nāsir Khan blocked the passage of the Khyber with 20,000 troops. On hearing this news Nadir Shah decided on an invasion of India.¹

It did not take long for Nadir Shah to make short work of the ill-fed, poorly-armed and badly equipped troops of Nāsir Khan. He entered Peshawar, in November, 1738, crossed the Indus in December, and advanced towards Lahore. Zakariya Khan put forth whatever resistance he could without being supported by the Delhi Emperor. Nadir's vanguard defeated Zakariya Khan on the Ravi on the 21st January, 1739, and charged a fine of 20 lakhs of rupees from him.

Nadir Shah reinstated Zakariya Khan in his office, took his son, Hayatullah Khan (entitled by him Shahnawaz Khan) and Dalpat Rai, son of Diwan Lakhat Rai, as hostages and made straight for Delhi. He reached Sirhind on the 5th February, Rajah Sarai (modern Rajpura) the next day, Ambala on the 7th and Shahabad, 36 miles north of Karnal, on the 8th February.

The Delhi court had come to know of Nadir's approach when he had conquered Kabul and Muhammad Shah had ordered his generals to oppose the invader. Consequently, they encamped outside Delhi and wasted a full month in a mere display of their forces. Then they marched, but with such slowness that in two months' time they had only advanced as far as Karnal, 75 miles north of Delhi. There they

¹ *Siyar*, ii, 94-5.

encamped, dug a trench and built a wall placing numerous pieces of artillery round the camp.

The advantages of the Mughal troops over the enemy were: superiority of position, of numbers, of artillery, and of cavalry. But, they were utterly demoralised, and we know that in war the morale of the troops is everything. Consequently, in the battle of Karnal that followed, the undisciplined host of Indian soldiers, a mob without any cohesion, was routed in three hours' time and about 20,000 of them were slain. Nadir Shah marched upon Delhi, and spent his time in feasting and rejoicing, till a false report of Nadir's death led to a massacre of several hundred Iranis. This enraged the invader and he ordered a general massacre of Indians in which nearly 20,000 persons were killed in nine hours.

Nadir Shah then proceeded to a systematic exaction and thoroughly plundered the imperial palace as well as the people of all classes. The total amount of plunder secured by him is estimated by his secretary at 15 crores of rupees in cash, besides vast quantities of jewels and other things, including the famous Peacock Throne and the Koh-i-Noor diamond. The grand total is computed by Frazer at 70 crores, and by the author of *Bayān* at 80 crores. Nadir also married his son Nasrullah Mirza to a princess of the blood royal and annexed all the territory to the west of the Indus including Afghanistan, the trans-Indus districts and Thatta. A considerable territory, east of the Indus, consisting of Gujrat, Sialkot, Aurangabad and Pasrur was also attached to his Irani Empire, probably with a view to find a ready pretext for some future invasion. These districts, called *Chahār Mahāl*, were entrusted to the care of the Panjab Governor on the payment of a certain sum as annual tribute.

The invasion of Nadir Shah not only dealt a death-blow to the power and prestige of the Mughal Empire, but also brought to perfection the chaos and confusion prevailing

in the country. The people were disillusionized of the awe which hallowed the name of the mighty Mughals, and which struck terror in the minds of men.

But this foreign irruption was not an end in itself. The example set by the master was not to be lost on his ambitious and faithful servant Ahmad Abdali known to history as Ahmad Shah Abdali or Durrani, who invaded India as many as ten times, repeating his master's exploits, terrors and atrocities to a greater degree.

CHAPTER III

THE RISE OF THE SIKH POWER

1. *Introduction*

AS a rule the fall of one power means the rise of another; and this actually happened in the case of the Sikhs. But the Sikhs had not suddenly appeared on the scene to take advantage of the weakness of the Mughals. There had been a steady process at work leading to their slow and gradual development for many years past. It seems necessary therefore to delve into the past for a while to trace the growth of this community.

2. *Foundation and Expansion of Sikhism*

Sikhism was founded by Guru Nanak, a contemporary of Luther, about the end of the 15th century, apparently to blend, in peaceful union, the discordant elements of bitterness and animosity, existing between Hinduism and Islam, the religions of the ruled and the rulers. He endeavoured to effect this purpose by means of mild persuasion. The cardinal principle of his teaching was the unity of God and the equality of all men before Him. He preached against idolatry and caste distinctions in order to bring Hinduism on to a level with Islam. Keeping the goals of both religions in view, he asserted that salvation could be attained only through upright character and good deeds. He also urged that the object of human life was purity of mind, and declared that asceticism or renunciation of the world was unnecessary. He lost no opportunity to strike a blow at the superciliousness of Hinduism and Islam; but his remarks carried with them so much of straightforwardness, sincerity and ready

wit that even the bigoted *Pandit* and *Mullah* did not feel annoyed with him. He laid stress on a spiritual discipline (*Sadhana*) which required devotion and service. He exercised great influence over large numbers who looked on him as their "Guru" or spiritual guide, and with their offerings he established *Langars* or free dining-halls where crowds of the poor and the helpless were fed.

Guru Nanak had thus given the people of the Panjab an ideal, which aimed ultimately at converting them into a nation. This naturally required time for constant schooling under regular guidance which was provided by the nine succeeding leaders.

Before his death Nanak nominated a certain Lahna, subsequently known as Guru Angad to carry on this spiritual work for this small community. Angad appears to have had a linguistic aptitude: for he invented the Gurmukhi script in which was written the first prose work of the Sikh religion, known as the "Janam Sakhi" of Guru Nanak. Another important step taken by Guru Angad which contributed a good deal towards the popularisation of the Sikh religion was the development of *Langar* already started by Guru Nanak.

The spirit of unification in the new community was further developed by the next Guru, Amar Das, who established the custom of obliging all visitors to partake of food in his free dining-halls before seeing him, thus regularising the system of inter-dining. He also sanctified human life by declaring against penitence and sacrifice of the body, and forbidding the practice of *Sati* or self-immolation of widows on the pyres of their husbands. He strengthened the church by establishing the *Manji* system, viz., dividing the whole country inhabited by his followers into 22 dioceses each under the charge of a preacher.

His successor, Guru Ramdas, added to the solidarity of

the growing faith by providing it with a sacred tank to which he gave the name of *Amritsar* (the tank of nectar); but it came to be called *Guru ka Chak* or *Chak Guru* and afterwards *Ramdaspora*.¹ In order to place his followers under a regular discipline he made it obligatory for them to contribute one-tenth of their income towards the common funds of the Guru, and appointed *Masands* or collectors in each diocese.

Guru Arjun, the fifth in succession, proved himself an original thinker, great poet and martyr to the faith. He realized the need of giving the Sikhs a written rule of faith. Consequently, he compiled a work known as the *Adi Granth* by collecting the sayings of the four previous Gurus, adding many of his own, together with extracts from the popular writings of some of the Hindu and Muslim saints. He also built a temple in the centre of the tank and named it *Hari Mandir* (God's temple). Thus, he gave the Sikhs a common rallying point and a permanent spiritual centre of their religion. He encouraged his followers to take to the lucrative trade of horses in Afghanistan and Turkistan, thereby breaking their caste-prejudices and making them rich and enterprising. As a consequence of these great measures his disciples venerated him so much that he came to be called *Sachcha Padshah* or veritable king, thereby indicating that he exercised a just influence on the people and guided them to salvation; while the temporal kings ruled by force of arms and concerned themselves only with the worldly actions of the people.²

3. *The Sikhs and the Mughal Government*

This smooth sailing of the Sikh religion, however, did not continue for long. Guru Arjun incurred the displeasure of Jahangir, who summoned him to Lahore and tortured him to

¹ Sujan Rai writing in 1695 names it "Chak Guru Hargobind." *Khulasat*, 66.

² *Dabistan*, 233.

death. This was the first turning-point in the history of the Sikh community and the effects of persecution became soon apparent. The Guru's son, Hargobind, succeeded him as a sworn enemy of the Mughal tyranny. He greatly transformed the character of the peaceful followers, who under his guidance laid aside their rosaries and buckled on the sword in defence of their faith. Guru Hargobind armed and drilled his disciples and soon came to possess a stable of 700 horses, 300 horsemen and 60 matchlockmen as his bodyguard. He also sanctioned and encouraged the use of animal food among his followers.¹ Then he constructed the *Akal Bunga* or "House of God," in front of the Hari Mandir, where he sat on a throne dressed in princely attire, accepted presents of arms from the Sikhs and administered justice like a king in court. He also introduced congregational prayers which not only added to the religious fervour of the Sikhs, but also strengthened the spirit of unity and co-operation among them.² Thus, by this time, the Sikhs came to occupy a kind of separate state within the Mughal Empire, the position of which was securely established by the fiscal policy of Guru Ramdas and the martial system of Guru Hargobind.

The warlike activities of the Guru once more roused the anger of Jahangir, who cast him into prison at Gwalior, but he was released sometime afterwards. After Jahangir's death Guru Hargobind came into conflict with the provincial authorities of the Panjab, whom he defeated after desperate fighting on four occasions.³ He was now looked upon as a

¹ *Dabistan*, 223.

The author of this work narrates a story. One Partabmal admonished his son who was inclined to turn Muslim thus: "If you want to get full freedom in eating, you may better join Sikhism, where there is no restriction about food." *Ibid.*, 239. (در اکل و شرب قیدی ندارند)

² When a Sikh wished for the fulfilment of a desire all others offered prayers for him. Mohsin Fani mentions that the Guru in his own case would also request his followers, gathered in an assembly, to pray for him. *Dabistan*, 239.

³ In one of these contests a Mughal soldier rushed furiously upon the Guru. Hargobind warded off the blow and slew him with one stroke.

hero, and the hardy Jats were always ready to rally under his banner. Guru Hargobind, being satisfied with his achievements and knowing the resources of the Mughal Government, retired to Kiratpur on the Sutlej where he died in 1645 A.D.¹

The ministry of Guru Har Rai was mild, and gave Sikhs a respite after the wars of his predecessor. Har Kishan, the next Guru, was only six years old at his succession, and died of small-pox shortly afterwards. Tegh Bahadur, a son of Guru Hargobind, succeeded him. He was summoned to the imperial capital by Aurangzeb as a pretender to power, and there he was put to death. This was the culminating catastrophe in the Sikh annals, and the minds of Sikhs and the Hindus who held the Guru in reverence were stirred to the very depth.

4. *Guru Gobind Singh and his work of Reorganization* (1675—1699)

Here we enter upon a new phase of the Sikh movement which it developed under stern necessity and proper guidance. Guru Tegh Bahadur was succeeded by his son, Gobind Singh. The murder of his father, the imprisonment of his grandfather, the torture of his great-grandfather, the degraded condition of the Hindus, and the tyranny and corruption of the Government produced a deep impression on the mind of youthful Gobind. The severity and strictness of

exclaiming, "Not so, but the sword is used thus." (چندیں نمیزنند زدن) Regarding this incident Mohsin Fani remarks that Guru Hargobind did not strike in anger but deliberately and to give instruction, because the function of the Guru is to teach. *Dabistan*, 235.

¹ The veneration of Sikhs for the Guru was such that many of them were ready to burn themselves alive on his funeral pyre. Two actually jumped into the flames and expired at the feet of the Guru. Several others were prevented from doing so by Har Rai, the succeeding Guru. *Dabistan*, 237.

Aurangzeb in excluding Hindus from the state service, imposing *jaziya* on them, demolishing their temples, forcing them to accept Islam and reducing them almost to nothingness by other harsh measures, such as the appointment of *mullahs* with a horse contingent attached to each, in order to check all Hindu religious activities,¹ caused wide-spread discontent in the minds of the Hindu population.

There are in this world men who are endowed by nature with a great capacity for attaining perfection. In the days of peace they work for the solace or instruction of mankind, and strive to smooth the way for the chariot of progress. In the days of calamity they are seen suddenly to emerge upon the scene to guide the people, and with stoicism to expose themselves to the shocks of adverse fortune. The grateful world would recognize Guru Gobind Singh, as one of such persons. Guru Gobind Singh determined to take advantage of this situation, and conceived a bold but noble design of inspiring the weak, selfish and vanquished Hindus with a new hope and new life. He knew that he would be able to do this by stirring the latent faculties of human mind, which, he understood, possessed the elasticity of rising to the loftiest height as well as of sinking to the lowest depth. Moreover, he was not unaware of the brilliant results achieved by Hindus in the Deccan under the leadership of Shivaji.

Safety drove him for the time being to the lower spurs of the Himalayas in Sirmur State on the banks of the Jumna, where he lived for twenty years. This time was most usefully spent by him in studying History, Sanskrit and Persian literature from eminent scholars and poets of the day, and in acquiring a perfect dexterity in the art of fighting. He was soon called upon to fight several battles with the neighbouring hill rajas, in which he won a large number of followers from the plains of the

¹ Latif's *Punjab*, 176.

Panjab.¹ By this time Aurangzeb was fully absorbed in the Deccan and Guru Gobind Singh, finding the circumstances favourable prepared to undertake his mission.

The greatness of Guru Gobind Singh lies in the fact that he made full use of the strong religious sentiment which had been expressing itself in the new community in the form of sincere, loving obedience and devotion to the person of the Guru. He propagated the truth that in order to safeguard the spiritual rights of the people, the country should not depend on the sovereign at all. The people ought to entrust this right to themselves, and individually feel any national wrong done, and collectively organize means to withstand it. He turned the religious sentiment of his followers into an engine of strength to crush all opposition. Nationalism, rather than salvation, was placed before them as the ideal of religion, and self-respect and service the means to achieve this end. The Sikhs were therefore to worship *Akalpurkh* (God) only, pay homage to the *Granth* alone, be free from caste prejudices, take baptism of water stirred with a dagger, add the word *Singh* (lion) to their names, have one form of salutation,² abstain from smoking, use turbans, and always wear the *kesh* (hair), *kangha* (comb), *kirpan* (sword), *kara* (steel bracelet) and *kachh* (a pair of drawers).³

¹ Four such battles are recorded by Sunder Singh in his *Battles of Guru Gobind Singh*, pp. 1-22.

² "*Wah Guru Ji ka Khalsa, Wah Guru Ji ki Fatah.*" (The Purified ones belong to the Almighty Lord. Victory also belongs to Him.) Its object was to keep the Sikhs in buoyant spirit, because by this mode of salutation a strong link was established between the Khalsa and Victory, these being the two offspring of the Lord.

³ In many of these external observances we can trace a deep purpose. Guru Gobind Singh wanted to make the Sikhs a fighting people, and therefore he deemed it necessary that their head should be properly guarded from sword cuts by means of long hair and turban. The *kachh* was more suitable and more convenient than loose *dhoti* of general Indian wear. Their physical strength was kept intact by the prohibition of the pernicious drug, tobacco, and the permission to use meat.

They were inspired with the belief that the *Panth* (the general body of the Sikhs), which stood for fighting the wrongs of the world, was the creation of God, who was always present with them, and therefore every Sikh, working in the cause of the *Panth*, was bound to be victorious.

Service involved two principles—discipline and sacrifice. The Sikhs were to undergo physical, mental and spiritual discipline. They were to exercise a strict control over their desires, passions and emotions, to offer implicit obedience to their leaders, and never to think in self-interest but always in terms of the *Panth*. As members of the *Panth* they were to serve it with the faith that they were pleasing God thereby, and were to fear no foe however strong he might be. Each Sikh working in the righteous cause was to consider himself a tower of strength equal to the power of one lakh and a quarter hosts and was never to give way to despair. He must trust in God who had created him for victory and depend upon steel which would never betray him. He must always be prepared to lay down his life because his victory lay in the moment of his death.

To such inspired and optimistic disciples Gobind Singh gave the name of *Khalsa*—the purified ones.¹

5. *The Khalsa in their New Career (1699—1708)*

The creation of the *Khalsa* was an epoch-making event in the religious and political history of the Panjab. It marked the beginning of the rise of a new race of leaders and warriors, destined to play the rôle of a hero against all oppression and tyranny. The severities of the high-caste Hindus over their brethren—the Shudras—were set at naught as soon as one joined the ranks of the *Khalsa*, where

¹ The regular proclamation of the birth of *Khalsa* is said to have been made by Guru Gobind Singh on the first of Baisakh, Sambat 1756 Bikrami (Thursday, the 30th March, 1699).

all were equal and ready to render one another all help and useful service.¹ Their only difficulty lay in destroying the organised oppression of Mughal despotism, under which the Hindus and the Sikhs had been acutely suffering. It was a gigantic task for the small community of the Khalsa, in which they stood aloof, without sympathy from the Hindus who could never think of displeasing the mighty Mughals, whose very name struck terror in their hearts.

But the inspiration under the leadership of Guru Gobind Singh himself was enough to outdo all such difficulties and influences. Despondency and fear could not live with the Guru. Faith and hope were the leading currents in the minds of the Khalsa. Under the direction of the Guru, the Khalsa took up the profession of arms and the results were most surprising. The people, lowliest of the low, such as sweepers, cobblers, water-carriers and barbers who had lived for centuries under complete servility of the higher classes as well as of the Government, now became valiant warriors, the praises of whose physique and valour are sung by all the world including their bitterest foes.

The followers of the Guru had risen to several thousands in number. He had also built two forts at Paonta and Anandpur at the foot of the hills to serve as suitable bases for his operations.

The Guru further increased his military resources by building four new forts of Lohgarh, Anandgarh, Phoolgarh

¹The philanthropic activities of the Sikhs were not confined to the *Panth*, but were extended to all, as is testified by Sujan Rai:—"They treat their own men and strangers alike, and make no difference between friends and foes. They show neither favour to friends nor hostility to enemies. The belief they cherish in their leader does not exist in other sects. They keep the name of their guide always on their lips, and they look upon service as the highest form of worship. If a stranger knocks at their door at midnight, and utters the name of Nanak though he may be a thief, robber or wretch, he is considered a friend and brother, and is properly looked after." *Khulasat*, 70.

and Fatahgarh.¹

Then began a series of battles in which the Guru often had to face the combined forces of the hill rajas and the Mughal *subahdars*, and in most cases the victory was on the side of the Khalsa.² The most serious conflict occurred at Anandpur in which heavy odds were ranged against the Guru. The Governors of Lahore and Sirhind were deputed to nip the rising power of the Sikhs in the bud. The hill rajas, the Ranghars and the Gujars of the neighbourhood had also joined the Imperial troops. The place was closely besieged and all ways and means of communication were entirely cut off. The Guru, though reduced to extreme straits for want of provisions, maintained the fight heroically. His forces melted away from day to day, and with such rapidity that he was compelled to abandon the place. Eventually, finding the situation hopeless, he escaped, one night, from the fort with his family and some disciples. Alarm was soon raised and the Mughal troops immediately pursued them. In the darkness and confusion, the Guru's mother and his two sons were separated from him. They were caught, and later on the sons were bricked up alive in a fort wall at Sirhind, while their grandmother died of this shock in prison.

The Guru, together with his two other sons and a handful of followers, took refuge at Chamkaur, which was immediately besieged by the enemy. In the struggle that ensued here, Guru Gobind Singh lost both of his sons and almost all his disciples. The Guru then managed to escape to Machhiwara from where he retired towards Malwa. At

¹ M'Gregor on p. 85 of Vol. I gives the following names: "Anundghur, Fattehghur, Soghur and Mooghulghur." The forts of Fatahgarh and Lohgarh were situated in the town of Anandpur. *Sunder Singh*, 35.

² Ten battles are mentioned by the author of the *Battles of Guru Gobind Singh*, which were fought by the Guru after establishing the Khalsa. Of these five took place at Anandpur, two at Chamkaur and three at Nirmoh, Basali and Muktsar. pp. 32-68.

a place now called Muktsar, the pursuing Mughal troops again fell upon him, but in view of the oppressive heat and scarcity of water, food and fodder, they retired.

The Guru settled at a place in the heart of the desert named by him Damdama, where he is said to have spent about a year in peaceful preachings of his religion. Here he received a letter from Aurangzeb demanding his presence at his court in the Deccan, to which he gave a spirited reply in Persian verse in which he administered to the Emperor a sharp rebuke.¹

Aurangzeb died soon after and his son and successor Bahadur Shah invited the Guru to Delhi where he went at the head of two or three hundred soldiers. The Emperor treated him respectfully, conferred upon him a robe of honour and took him to the Deccan, where he was going to crush the rebellion of his younger brother, Kam Bakhsh.² The Guru left the company of Bahadur Shah after some time and halted on the banks of the Godavari where he met Banda Bairagi leading the life of a hermit. Guru Gobind Singh had already heard of his wide-spread fame and was struck by his personal appearance which showed an iron will and unswerving determination under his saintly clothes. The Guru, finding in him the most suitable person for carrying on his work in the Panjab, entrusted him with his mission in the presence of his Sikhs.

Shortly afterwards, the Guru was seriously wounded by a Pathan. Finding his end near he called together his disciples and gave them his last injunctions. They were to have no Guru thenceforward, as he had delivered the Khalsa to

¹ This reply termed *Zafar Namah* (Epistle of Victory) forms a part of the *Dasam Granth*.

² It is believed that Guru Gobind Singh lent some help to Bahadur Shah in the battle of Jajau, supplying him with a contingent of his soldiers. Khafi Khan, however, does not mention any such help given by the Guru, but says that he joined Bahadur Shah at the head of two or three hundred soldiers, when the Emperor was marching to the Deccan. *Muntakhab Al-Lubab*, 652.

Akalpurkh (God), and were to look upon the *Granth* as the Guru. He further gave them to understand that the Guru would be present in spirit wherever five Sikhs assembled, to decide an important question affecting the whole Panth or a part of it. On such an occasion a Sikh congregation was to be held and from the whole assembly five¹ *pyaras* (beloved ones) were to be elected and their decision was to be regarded as the verdict of the Guru. It was then to be passed by the whole assembly² and its execution was binding upon the whole *Panth*. Any infringement was to be considered sacrilegious. They were finally impressed upon that the *Wah* Guru had destined them to be the future rulers of the country for which they must continue the struggle unabated.³

The Guru then peacefully passed away with satisfaction that in the free and independent hearts of his followers there were germinating the seeds of a general revolution. He felt sure that their revolutionary spirit would break forth with greater fury if the sacredness of their rights was not admitted and if they were not allowed a free hand in the matter of their conscience.

6. *Secular Leadership of Banda (1709—1715)*

Banda had witnessed the ruthless despotism of the Mughals in general and their oppression against his own community in particular. He had also seen the unsuccessful revolts against Mughal absolutism, one in the Panjab (Banda's original home) and the other in Maharashtra (Banda's residence). The narration of his sufferings and the work done

¹ In India "five" has been the sacred number from times immemorial. "*Panchon men Parmeshwar hai*," is an old saying and indicates the presence of Divinity in "five." *Panchayats* or councils of five elders were common in northern India long before Guru Gobind Singh's time.

² Such decisions in their final shape were termed "*Gurumatas*," because they were considered to have been passed with the concurrence of the Guru.

³ *Narang*, 101.

in the Panjab by Guru Gobind Singh himself roused the sense of patriotism of this young man of 38, and he undertook to execute the mission of the Guru. Having received his blessings, Banda started for the Panjab early in 1709. Never perhaps in the history of the Panjab did the circumstances or the time offer so fair a field to the ambition of a leader, conscious of great talents, and called to the command of warlike people, only too eager to second him in any enterprise he might undertake. Near Kaithal he plundered a royal treasure on its way to Delhi, and distributed the whole of it among his followers. This was a good omen for a series of rapid victories which he subsequently achieved, and attracted crowds of Sikhs and Hindus to join his folds.¹

In November, 1709, Samana, the home of Guru Tegh Bahadur's executioner was laid waste. Nearly 10,000 Muslims are said to have been massacred in this town and immense booty was acquired. Banda's ranks then began to swell daily and he easily punished the bigoted Muslims of Ghuram, Thaska, Kunjpura, Shahabad, Mustafabad, Ambala, Kapuri, Chhat and Banur.²

Now Sirhind was in sight which was the aim of Banda and his Sikhs. In their eyes it was the most accursed place where Guru Gobind Singh's two sons were bricked up alive and where the Guru's mother had given up her life in imprisonment. It was a holy war against the Governor of this place. The battle was fought in May, 1710, in which the Governor lost his life while the city of Sirhind was laid waste.³

¹ *Khafi Khan*, ii, 652: "In two or three months' time nearly five thousand horse and eight thousand foot joined him. The number of his troops was increasing daily, and great booty was falling into his hands. Soon after about nineteen thousand men armed and equipped took to plunder and persecution."

² "The matters came to such a pass that from thirty to forty thousand infidels served under his banner. Then he issued orders to the imperial officials to submit and retire from their posts." *Ibid.*, 652-3.

³ *Ibid.*, 653-4. The following expression was now frequently on the lips of the Sikhs — "موسلے دا ناش گرودا پرکاش". *Bakhtmal*, 50.

With the fall of Sirhind, practically the whole country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, up to the close neighbourhood of Delhi, lay at the feet of Banda. He ousted the Muslim officers from all the 28 *parganahs* of Sirhind division and put his own men in their places.¹

Just after this victory, sad tales of the bigotry of the Muslims of the Gangetic Doāb were brought to his notice, and so he marched thither in July, 1710. He crossed the Jumna at Rajghat and punished and plundered the people of Saharanpur, Behat, Nanautah and Jalalabad.²

Banda returned to the Panjab to look after his newly acquired territories and reduced the Muslim risings in the Jullundur and the Bari Doābs, with the result that a greater part of these territories, excepting Lahore proper, fell into his hands where also the Sikh officials were appointed to control the affairs of the government.³

Banda now turned to Sadhaura to punish the notorious Muslims who were indiscriminately cut to pieces in a mansion known afterwards as *Qatalgarhi*.⁴ The famous fort of

”دیہات بسیار را تلخت و تاراج نموده تہانہ دارو تکصیلدار مال

از طرف خود مقرر ساختند“ *Khafi Khan*, ii, 652.

”و بعد فراغ تاراج سہرند درہمہ پر گناٹ برائی تکصیل باج

وخراج مال خود تعیین نمودند“ *Ibid.*, 654.

“In all *parganahs* occupied by the Sikhs,” says Irvine, “the reversal of the previous customs was striking and complete. A low scavenger or leather dresser, the lowest of the low in Indian estimation had only to leave home and join the Guru (Banda) when in a short space of time he would return to his birthplace as its ruler, with his order of appointment in his hand. As soon as he set foot within the boundaries, the well-born and wealthy went out to greet him and escort him home. Arrived there, they stood before him with joined palms, awaiting his orders.” *Later Mughals*, i, 98-9.

¹ *Khafi Khan*, ii, 654-7.

² *Ibid.*, 660.

³ *Ibid.*

Mukhlispur, situated on the top of a steep hill and surrounded by deep ravines, was seized next and was renamed Lohgarh. This place became the seat of Banda's headquarters, where he issued his own coin and introduced his official seal and year, commencing from the date of his victory at Sirhind.¹

The repeated tales of Banda's atrocities were constantly pouring into the Imperial capital. But the emperor was away to the Deccan, and his officials were so terror-stricken that not a soul stirred out of Delhi to oppose him. By this time Bahadur Shah was free from the Deccan and he at once hurried to Lohgarh without even stopping at Delhi and laid siege to the place in December, 1710. Banda commanded scanty resources in comparison with those of the Emperor, but he fought bravely and inspired awe and fear (ترس و هراس) in the minds of the enemies.² He was, however, reduced to extremities so that he had to flee in disguise, while many of his troops were massacred.

Banda made his appearance in the hilly tract in Gurdaspur district. The Emperor at once marched in pursuit and, subduing the country on the way, halted at Lahore where he died in February, 1712. Then ensued the war of succession. Jahandar Shah came out successful in April; but he was a weakling and another Prince named Farrukh Siyar revolted against him and succeeded in seizing the throne in January, 1713. These intervals gave the Sikhs a much-needed respite and they took full advantage in gaining fresh strength.

The new Emperor appointed Abdul Samad Khan, the energetic Governor of Kashmir, the *Subahdar* of the Panjab,

¹ Irvine, i, 110.

² *Khafi Khan*, ii, 669: "I cannot describe the terror and panic that prevailed in the imperial army on account of wild attacks and frightful engagements of that beggarly-dressed force. There was such a loud clamour of their slaughter and oppression that the imperial troops grew tired of life."

in February, 1713, with definite instructions to subdue the Sikhs.¹ Abdul Samad took strong measures against them but without accomplishing much. Early in 1715 Banda descended upon Kalanaur and Batala from his hill fastness and laid waste the whole country. Farrukh Siyar was exasperated to learn about these disasters. He administered a sharp rebuke to the Viceroy in March, 1715 and sent Imperial troops under capable leaders to reinforce him.²

Unfortunately, a split had taken place among the followers of Banda by this time. He had introduced a new form of salutation, *Fatah-i-Darshan* for *Wah Guruji ka Khalsa*, *Wah Guruji ki Fatah*. This offended the orthodox Sikhs and they formed a separate party under the name of *Tat Khalsa*. The remaining Sikhs with Banda were called *Bandai Sikhs*.

In this considerably weakened position Banda was besieged in the small fort of Gurdaspur and the siege was so closely pursued for eight months that not a particle of food was allowed to get in. The Sikhs were reduced to extremely sore straits. No provisions were left with them. They lived on flesh, grass and leaves and bark of trees. They powdered twigs and bones and ate them instead of flour.³ "In spite of all this," says Kamwar Khan, "the infernal Sikh chief and his men, withstood all the military force that the great Saltanat-i-Mughalia could muster against them for eight months".⁴

The fort fell in December, 1715 and all the inmates including Banda were taken prisoners. Large numbers of them were massacred, while Banda and his 740 followers were brought to Delhi where their most heroic behaviour at the time of their execution drew praises from all.⁵

¹ Shah Nawaz Khan calls the Sikhs "Qaum-i-Guru." *Maasir-ul-Umara*, ii, 515.

² *Khafi Khan*, ii, 762.

³ *Ibid.*, 763.

⁴ Quoted in Ganda Singh's "*Banda Bahadur*," 32.

⁵ *Khafi Khan*, ii, 765-7; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, ii, 516-7; Wheeler's *Early Records of British India*, 180.

7. *The darkest period of Sikh history, 1716-1738*

The period of nearly one quarter of a century, following the execution of Banda, may be regarded as the darkest period of Sikh history. The reasons are obvious. The Sikhs were left without a temporal guide, and had no one among them of eminent position, noted for his extraordinary ability and courage, to unite their scattering forces, to guide them through difficulties and misfortunes and to keep them in spirit to pursue their goal. On the other hand, the Government of the day, actuated by active resentment, followed the most repressive policy leaving no stone unturned, not only in destroying the power of the Sikhs, but also in extirpating the sect. Their number had already dwindled to an astonishing degree; but after the execution of their secular chief the Government seems to have determined to give them no quarter. "An edict was issued by Furruck Sir," says Forster on pp. 312-3 of Vol. I of his *Journey*, "directing that every Sicque falling into the hands of his officers, should, on a refusal of embracing the Mahometan faith, be put to the sword. A valuable reward was also given by the emperor, for the head of every Sicque; and such was the keen spirit that animated the persecution, such the success of the exertions, that the name of a Sicque no longer existed in the Mughal dominion. Those who still adhered to the tenets of Nanock, either fled into the mountains at the head of the Punjab, or cut off their hair, and exteriorly renounced the profession of their religion."¹

The faithful followers of the Guru experienced the worst possible time in their history. Hunted like hare they wandered from place to place seeking shelter to save themselves from the fury of the Government and of the antagonistic Muslim population of the neighbourhood. They ultimately took refuge, as has already been remarked, in the lower

¹ Cf. Browne, ii, 13; Malcolm, 85; *Miftah-ul-Twarikh*, 398; M'Gregor's *History of the Sikhs*, i, 113-4; Cunningham, 95.

spurs of the Himalayas, Lakhi Jungle and Malwa desert. There they had very precarious means of livelihood and often lived on wild vegetables and the flesh of the jungle animals. It appears that they cheerfully bore these privations and gave very flattering names to even the meanest articles of diet.¹

It seemed as if the power of the Sikhs had been totally destroyed and the sect extirpated, because for a couple of years after the death of Banda we hear nothing about the Sikhs. But by 1718, however, reports were received in Lahore that the Sikhs had recommenced committing depredations in the villages situated at the foot of the hills and on the outskirts of the Lakhi Jungle and Malwa desert. This will naturally surprise us; but we are in possession of several factors which were responsible for the reappearance of the Sikhs. The constant fear of death from which no Sikh of those days was free even for a moment had made them bold and fearless. Their extreme poverty and utter necessity for keeping body and soul together had driven them to take to plundering. They knew that death might be the reward of such undertakings; but as true Sikhs they preferred to die fighting. They also believed in their right to live and they legitimately thought that such a Government as deprived them of this natural privilege was not worthy of being respected by them. Moreover, they had already experienced great destitution and distress when serving under Guru Gobind Singh and Banda. Besides, they had a vivid memory of the sacrifices and sufferings of Guru Gobind Singh, his four sons and Banda, all of whom stimulated them to bear their misfortunes heroically. They also knew that their object of destroying the organized form of Mughal tyranny could not be achieved by sitting idle in the jungles. They must rise after every fall and should be ready to pay the usual price for freedom. Their optimistic outlook about the

¹ The Sikh historians have reproduced in their books long lists of such names and some of these terms are still current amongst the Jat Sikhs. Cf. *Gyan Singh*, 552-3.

future of their race was also responsible for it. They considered that their cause was righteous and was therefore bound to succeed. The work of the last Guru, they argued, was on the verge of destruction when the sudden appearance of Banda had turned the tables in their favour. Similarly they hoped that sooner or later a leader was bound to arise among them who would again lead them on to fresh victories. Such were their feelings that had made the Sikhs renew their activities.

The ventures of the Sikhs, however, met with almost uniform success on account of many influences which were eating into the vitals of the Mughal Empire both at Delhi and elsewhere. This had its repercussions on the government of the Panjab. As a nominee of his party, the Viceroy of the Panjab was dragged into Delhi politics and was thus unable to pay undivided attention to his own government. This naturally afforded occasions for the outbreak of disorder and lawlessness in the country. There is evidence to show that the creatures of such disturbances were secretly encouraged, and possibly financed, by the rivals of the Viceroy.¹

The machinery of the Delhi government having failed to function, the Lahore Viceroy was left to his own petty resources to cope with the serious situation single-handed. His forces were centred in the capital wherefrom he sent out detachments to quell disturbances wherever they arose. Considering the means of communications of those days, it was no easy task to keep a constant pursuit of the Sikhs into their impenetrable retreats which were at long distances from the seat of the Government.

¹ Khafi Khan, a contemporary writer, referring to the rebellion of the Afghans of Kasur says that their revolt occurred at the instigation of the Sayyid Brothers who wanted to weaken the Turani party by dispossessing Abdul Samad Khan of the Panjab Viceroyalty. Isa Khan Munj, another rebel in the Jullundur Doab, was protected by Samsam-ud-daulah Khan-i-dauran, favourite of the Emperor Muhammad Shah. *Khafi Khan*, ii, 767-8 and 861-5; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, i, 604, and ii, 825-8; *Siyār*, ii, 47.

Thus, when the Delhi government was in the throes of revolutions (1717-9) and the *Subahdar* of Lahore was busy in dealing with the serious revolts of Isa Khan Munj and Husain Khan Kheshgi of Kasur, the Sikhs found an easy opportunity of entering upon a career of pillage and plunder.

Abdul Samad's failure in adopting a ruthless policy to check these commotions encouraged the forces of disruption to make a stronger headway and, therefore, the activities of the Sikhs as well as of other lawless people daily grew greater, so much so that on the highways traffic came almost to a close.¹

These turmoils and tumults roused once more the Delhi Government to its sense of responsibility with regard to the Panjab. The Emperor transferred the old *Subahdar* Abdul Samad Khan to the governorship of Multan and appointed his youthful son, Zakariya Khan Khan Bahadur, (perhaps at the suggestion of his prime minister Qamr-ud-din Khan, whose sister was married to Zakariya Khan), to the viceroyalty of Lahore in 1726.²

The new Viceroy who had already served as Governor of Kashmir (1720-6) was an experienced administrator. He raised moving columns of light cavalry and succeeded, in a short time, in driving away the Sikhs from all the centres of population. They were forced once again to seek shelter in their old retreats. Peace and quiet was restored,³ though for a short time only, and the new Viceroy won the approbation of the Delhi Court.

The Sikhs, however, were not to rest contented. Hardly

¹ Browne, ii, 13; *Bakhtmal*, 56; *Ali-ud-din*, 95b.

² *Maasir-ul-Umara*, ii, 517. (Kanhaya Lal in his *Tarikh-i-Panjab* on p. 65 says that a quarrel had taken place between Abdul Samad and Zakariya Khan and the latter, when on a visit to Delhi, requested the Emperor to appoint him to the charge of the province, promising that he would establish perfect peace in the country.)

³ *Ali-ud-din*, 95b.

had a couple of years passed, when it appears that the Sikhs sallied out in small groups, laying under contribution defenceless villages and often waylaying the travellers on roadside.¹ The Governor was naturally anxious to maintain peace in his jurisdiction at all costs. He, therefore, adopted a policy of conciliation by offering them *Jagir*² worth a lakh of rupees and the title of *Nawab* for their leader. This policy bore its desired fruit. The Sikhs, being tired of their long and tedious wild life, accepted the *Jagir* and the title.³ They now took to peaceful pursuits and most of them settled at Amritsar.⁴

1733
Next year in 1734, Nawab Kapur Singh, Fatah Singh, Buddha Singh Sukarchakia and Bhuma Singh, the prominent Sikh leaders thought it advisable to give their co-religionists, a kind of organization, in order to have facilities for the good arrangement of their food and clothing. Two main divisions were made of the entire strength of the Khalsa at Amritsar, according to the age of the members. *Buddha Dal* consisted of the older members and *Taruna Dal* included the younger *Singhs*.⁵

After some time the Sikhs grew impatient of their inactive life at Amritsar and dispersed either to their homes or to Malwa. The Khan Bahadur, finding no necessity of continuing the *Jagir*, confiscated it and offered them an alternative of either recruitment in the imperial army or of remittance of land revenue in case of their settling as peaceful

¹ The author of *Shamshir Khalsa* on pp. 40-5, refers to several such instances.

² A *Jagir* is a grant of land in freehold, or for a quit rent, or for some expected service, but in general, revocable at the donor's pleasure.

³ *Shamshir Khalsa*, 45-6. The title was afterwards conferred on Kapur Singh.

⁴ For a detailed account of Sikh life at Amritsar see *Ratan Singh*, 262 and *Gyan Singh*, 566-8.

⁵ For details see *Shamshir Khalsa*, 47-8; *Ratan Singh*, 263-5, *Gyan Singh*, 568-70; *Narang*, 126.

agriculturists. The Sikhs resented this action and took to their old course of plunder.¹

The Khan Bahadur despatched his troops in their pursuit and the Sikhs were ultimately driven away beyond the Sutlej. Zakariya Khan then murdered Bhai Mani Singh², the priest of Amritsar, and thereby aroused deep feelings of resentment and revenge in the minds of the Sikhs. They spent about a year more in running from place to place, avoiding an engagement with the imperial troops, but constantly pillaging the country. An opportunity after all presented itself to them, and early in January, 1739, they found themselves once more free to indulge in satisfying their passion of vengeance. This was done by the invasion of Nadir Shah.

¹ *Shamshir Khalsa*, 48-9; *Gyan Singh*, 572.

² *Ratan Singh*, 277; *Shamshir Khalsa*, 51-6; *Narang*, 47-8.

According to Ahwal-e-Adina Beg
or monograph written by Dr Hamid Khan Gupk

CHAPTER IV

ADINA BEG KHAN

THE LAST MUGHAL VICEROY OF THE PANJAB

(Date of birth unknown—Died 15th September, 1758)

1. Introduction

THE story told in this chapter is of a person who came of a humble stock and rose to eminence step by step, not by favour of any man, certainly not by subserviency either to the ruling authorities or to popular ideas; but simply by the operation of that natural law, which in troubled times brings the strongest mind, be it where it may, to the post of highest command.

During the 18th century in India many opportunities presented themselves to tact and ambition for carving out independent principalities. The great empire of the Mughals after a glorious career of nearly two centuries had fallen into a gradual process of decay. The Mughal Emperors were losing their power and prestige with headlong precipitation, while their unworthy ministers and supporters unscrupulously indulged in murder, emperor-blinding, treachery and rapine, and were always ready to sacrifice the interests of the empire for their own selfish ends.

The Mughal viceroys of provinces were generally sunk in sloth and sensuality. They had no fear of interference by the Central Government and were free from restraint. Hence there was no check on the progress of misrule. This confusion was further aggravated by a series of foreign

invasions from the north-west, leaving nothing in their wake but the smoke of burning homes, ravished humanity and the reek of innocent blood.

Such a chaotic state offered a great prize to the able and ambitious. Men rose from obscurity into the full blaze of historical renown. Adina Beg Khan was one such a man of low birth, unlettered, but endowed with a masterful ambition and a persevering temper. He was first employed even before his teens as a servant in the households of Mughal officers, and rose to power by patient labour and force of character, until, he ultimately became Viceroy of the Panjab and played an important part in the closing scenes of Muslim rule in the province.

Adina Beg Khan started his public life in the thirties. It was brought to a close in 1758. During that time he saw Nadir Shah's invasion, four campaigns of Ahmad Shah Abdali, the Maratha conquest of the Panjab and the rise of the Sikhs to political power. The Panjab had become in that period a cockpit of struggle between various powers and had almost been converted into no man's land. The first struggle lay between Ahmad Shah Abdali and the Mughals, in which the former was victorious. Then ensued the conflict between Ahmad Shah and the Marathas, in which the latter were worsted. Now the Sikhs and Ahmad Shah began to fight between themselves for the possession of the plains of the Panjab and ultimately Ahmad Shah was expelled from this province. Adina Beg therefore witnessed four *gardis* or wild struggles for the Panjab by Nadir Shah, Ahmad Shah, the Marathas and the Sikhs, known as the *Nadir Gardi*, the *Shah Gardi*, the *Maratha Gardi* and the *Sikha Shahi*. Adina Beg Khan took advantage of each *gardi* and greatly added to his power. He also maintained a sort of balance among all these powers.

No work on this subject is known to exist, except a defective Persian manuscript of 12 small folios. Its dates and

even some events are generally wrongly stated, but it supplies some useful material about the important stages in the life of this man. The writer has supplemented this with material gleaned from a number of Persian works, mostly unpublished, and Marathi, Gurmukhi, Urdu and English records, all of which are given in the bibliography at the end.

2. *Adina Beg Khan under Zakariya Khan, to June, 1745*

Adina Beg Khan was an Arāin by caste. His father's name was Chunnu. He was born at Sharaqpur, 18 miles below Lahore on the right bank of the Ravi. Extreme poverty compelled him very early in life to seek service in the homes of Mughal officers. He spent most of his time at Jalalabad, Khanpur and Bajwara, all situated in the Jullundur Doāb.¹ This was the beginning of his lifelong association with this part of the Panjab.

His sturdiness of character and love of enterprise made him discontented with his menial position. When he grew to manhood he sought a life of strenuous action. Constant association with the Mughal officers created in his mind a strong desire for military life, so he joined the army. He was, however, soon disillusionized of his new career by its poor prospects, left it for the more lucrative post of revenue collector of village Kang in Sultanpur² District of the Jullundur Doāb. He displayed great energy, courage and force of character in the performance of his new duties. His ability and tact won him many friends, one of whom was Lala Sri Niwas of Dhir caste, a rich banker of Sultanpur, a very influential man, who in a few years obtained for Adina Beg Khan the revenue contract of five or six villages in the territory of Kang. The following year all the villages of

¹ *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 50b.

² *Ibid.* There are two villages of the same name, viz., Kang Kalan and Kang Khurd, situated 8 miles south of Sultanpur, and about 2 miles north of the Sutlej. Cf. Survey map of the Panjab.

They then moved on to the Jullundur Doāb. Zakariya Khan knew that the Jullundur Doāb was mostly peopled by Jats who had sympathy with the Sikhs. He was, therefore, in search of a capable governor for this territory. It was brought to his notice that the district of Sultanpur, which was situated on the main road from Lahore to Delhi, had been ruined like many other places¹ by Nadir Shah's troops, who had also taken captive a number of men and women of the place, and that Adina Beg Khan had succeeded in restoring order at this time, had given relief to the people and had secured the release of many prisoners by ransom. The Viceroy also knew that Adina Beg was active, energetic and had personal knowledge of the Doab. So he was promoted to the high rank of the Nazim² (Governor) of the Jullundur Doāb and was ordered to punish the Sikhs.

Adina Beg succeeded in restoring peace and order in the Doāb, but he did not adopt severe measures to crush the Sikhs and perhaps deliberately winked at some of their activities, permitting them to carry on so long as they refrained from creating serious disturbances within his jurisdiction. The reason seems to be that he wished to secure his position by keeping the Sikh menace alive; otherwise he feared that in case of perfect peace in the Doāb this territory might be leased to somebody else for a larger sum of revenue. Diwan Bakhtmal testifies to this fact when

¹Anand Ram, 21.

”احوال پنجاب چہ نوشتہ شود کہ برآں دیار و سکندہ آن گلزار
چہ قیامت گزشت مثل وزیر آباد و ایمن آباد و گجرات قصبہ جات
کہ ہر یک بنا بر کثرت آبادی نیمچہ شہری بودہ است بتخاک
سیاہ برادر گشت برہمگین آن گلزمین بہزار رنگ بیداد رفت
مالہا بتاراج و ناموسہا برباد رفت“

² Nazim was the Governor of a province. He was a military man who commanded the troops and administered the country. The Diwan, who was the superintendent of finances, was quite independent of him and was a check on him. But when both these offices were combined in one person, he was called Subahdar or Viceroy. (Cf. Seir, i, 274).

he writes :—

"Adina Beg was a greedy man. He did not crush the Sikhs. If he had intended to do so, it was not a difficult task. But he had this idea in mind, that if he quelled the Sikhs, some other tax-farmer might be entrusted with the government of the Doāb for a higher sum and he might be dismissed. He therefore treated the Sikhs well and settled terms with them. For this reason the Sikhs grew stronger and they gradually occupied many villages as *Jagirs*."¹

The Khan Bahadur, however, would not rest content until he saw the Sikhs out of his province. He issued strict orders to Adina Beg Khan to drive them away. Though unwilling to do so, the Jullundur *faujdar* could not postpone this task for long. Consequently he asked the Sikhs to vacate his territory. On receiving these orders they deputed Jassa Singh Thoka (afterwards known as Ramgarhia) as their *Vakil* to settle terms with Adina Beg Khan. The latter, however, proved too clever for the Sikh *Vakil* and succeeded in persuading him to accept office under his government. The Sikhs, dismayed at the conduct of their envoy, found safety only in crossing the Sutlej and entering the Sirhind Division of Delhi Province, where they created a serious situation for the Imperial Government.²

L. K. P.

¹ *Khalsa Namah*, 58-9. James Browne, writing in 1787 in his *India Tracts*, ii, 14, says :—"The force he had with him was fully equal to the execution of that service, but Adina Beg, considering that if he should entirely put an end to all disturbances in that district, there would remain no necessity for continuing him in so extensive a command, carried on intrigues with the chiefs of the *Sicks*, and secretly encouraged them to continue their depredations, at the same time pretending to be very desirous of subduing them. From this management the *Sicks* became daily more powerful and seized upon several places in distant parts of the *Subah* of Lahore. They also began to perform public pilgrimages to the Holy Tank at Amrutsur without molestation."

The Jullundur District Gazetteer, 1904, page 29, supports this view.

² *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 373a; *Ali-ud-din*, 106a; *Raj Khalsa*, 10; *Itihas-i-Ramgarhia*, 410-1; *Sarkar*, i, 422-3.

Nadir Shah had denuded the treasury of Lahore and had laid heavy impositions on the Government officials and the people. The result was that the Khan Bahadur had nothing to pay to his troops, who were constantly clamouring for their dues. The Viceroy ordered his *Diwan*, Lakhpat Rai, to make the payment to the soldiers and, on his failure to do so, imprisoned him. The *Diwan's* brother, Jaspat Rai, secured orders from Zakariya Khan to check the accounts of government officials and to call for arrears. This measure brought sufficient money to meet the demands of the troops. The *Diwan* was consequently set free, but the work of account checking continued unabated.¹

In course of time came the turn of Adina Beg Khan, who had also failed in paying his revenues to the Lahore Government. It seems likely that he could not realise revenue from the people on account of their having suffered during Nadir Shah's invasion. He might also have pursued the usual policy of keeping the people pleased with the new government under him. Adina Beg knew that the wrath of the *Diwan* was bound to fall upon him, so he immediately went to Lahore and visited Lakhpat Rai alone at night to apologise. The *Diwan* did not listen to his entreaties and Adina Beg and his two assistants, Bhwani Das and Nidhan Singh, were imprisoned and Shahnawaz Khan, the younger son of the Khan Bahadur, was given charge of the Jullundur Doab.

The delinquents remained in prison for a year. Then Bhwani Das was released on the security of his brother, Sri Niwas. Adina Beg one night escaped and retired to the hills to avoid capture. Bhwani Das was thereupon re-arrested and ordered to render account of the income and expenditure. He respectfully replied that he would disclose the accounts only in the presence of his master, Adina Beg Khan. He was at once put into a large pot and was half-

¹ *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 51b-52a.

boiled, but even then he did not yield.¹ Lakhpat Rai was so much impressed with the loyalty of Bhwani Das that he took him out of the boiling pot, ordered his physicians to treat him and asked him to beg for a favour. Bhwani Das requested the reinstatement of Adina Beg Khan, which was granted. After a warning Adina Beg Khan was awarded a robe of honour (*khilāt*)² and was appointed to the Deputy Governorship under Shahnawaz Khan.³

This incident taught Adina Beg Khan a terrible lesson—not to fail in remitting the government revenues regularly and punctually, and he was never found wanting in this respect during the rest of his life. Besides, he became so tactful that he could successfully commit acts of disloyalty towards his chief without giving him the least suspicion thus retaining his confidence even long afterwards. This he cleverly managed by playing on one or other of his weaknesses. He kept the young Governor so pleased by his administrative ability and good behaviour that Shahnawaz Khan never interfered with him and Adina Beg Khan gained complete control over the government.

¹ *Ibid.*, 52.

"بهوانی داس ازیں معنی بسیار مورد عتاب گرد (ید) بلکہ در دیگر نشانیدہ گرم کرد (ند) هرچند بدنش از آتش آزار کشید لیکن از راه نمک حلالی هیچ نشان کاغذ آمدنی و خرج وامانت دینا بیگ خان بر زبان نیاورد ہمیں عرض کرد کہ هر قدر کہ حضور فرمایند از مال و جان حاضریم اما گذارش حساب سوائی بالمواجہہ خوانند خود صورت نہ بندد"

² A *khil'at* was composed of a turban, a girdle and a piece of cloth for a gown. It was meant to dress the whole body from head to foot and was properly called *saropa*. For persons of importance was added a double piece for a gown and a short gown with short sleeves. It was then called a *saropa* of five or six pieces. One piece of light brocade was also added for long drawers. All these pieces were of muslin, embroidered in gold, silver and silk upon the most elegant pattern. (Cf. *Seir*, i. 15).

³ *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 53a; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 107b. Bute Shah on folio 242b states that it was Adina Beg Khan who was boiled in a kettle-drum by Zakariya Khan.

3. *Adina Beg Khan and Shahnawaz Khan,
July, 1745 to March, 1748*

Zakariya Khan died on 1st July, 1745. He left behind him three sons, Yahiya Khan, Shahnawaz Khan and Mir Baqi. Zakariya Khan's wife was the sister of Nawab Qamr-ud-din Khan, the Grand Wazir of Delhi, and all these three brothers were the sons from the same mother. Yahiya Khan, the eldest brother was married to the daughter of Qamr-ud-din Khan and thus the Delhi Wazir was his maternal uncle as well as his father-in-law.

The Wazir was anxious that Yahiya Khan should succeed his father; but the Emperor, Muhammad Shah, was against this proposal, as he did not want to make the Panjab a stronghold of the Turani party. The Wazir was, however, determined to keep the Panjab for his family and he secretly sent Yahiya Khan, who was at that time in Delhi, to take charge of his father's government. Shahnawaz also arrived at Lahore soon after and demanded a division of the patrimony. This settlement was delayed and the troops of both the brothers came to blows. In the end peace was patched up. Shahnawaz Khan was paid a certain amount of cash and jewels, whereupon he withdrew to his *faujdari* in the Jullundur Doab. The Wazir then begged the viceroyalty of the Panjab for himself. After long hesitation and persuasion the Emperor agreed and appointed Yahiya Khan Deputy Viceroy on 3rd January, 1746.¹

Adina Beg Khan now found himself placed politically under Yahiya Khan. Yahiya Khan had no control over Shahnawaz Khan and, in order to maintain his sway over the Jullundur Doab, which was the most fertile part of the Panjab, he treated Adina Beg Khan with great consideration. Adina Beg Khan played his part so cautiously and consummately that he won the trust of Yahiya Khan, retain-

¹ *Anand Ram*, 289 ; *Sarkār*, i, 193.

ing at the same time the confidence of Shahnawaz Khan, though the brothers were openly hostile to each other. He gave positive proof of his loyalty to the Lahore Viceroy by persecuting the Sikhs, when the latter's minister, Diwan Lakhpat Rai, carried on a hard campaign against them from April to June, 1746.¹

After some time Shahnawaz Khan rose in insurrection against his brother. He came to Lahore on the 21st November, 1746, encamped near Shalamar Garden and, through Diwan Surat Singh, called upon Yahiya Khan to make a complete division of his father's property. Adina Beg Khan, Kauramal and Hashmatullah ranged themselves on the side of Shahnawaz Khan. Yahiya Khan was unwilling to pay him anything, while at the same time he avoided fighting. The discussion was prolonged and no decision was arrived at. The soldiers of both the brothers often came to blows. At last Yahiya Khan, with all his old and new chiefs, such as, Mumin Khan, Lakhpat Rai, Mir N'emmat Khan, and Mir Amin Beg, came out of Lahore and a sharp engagement took place. Yahiya Khan then ended the dispute by paying Shahnawaz Khan Rs. 600,000 from his father's treasure.

Shahnawaz Khan thereupon retired towards Batala, where he seized many places belonging to Yahiya Khan and brought a number of neighbouring chiefs under his jurisdiction. This annoyed the Lahore Viceroy, who prepared for another fight. Shahnawaz, on hearing it, came to Lahore and encamped near the tomb of Hazrat Ishan. The battle began on the 17th March, 1747. Adina Beg led the attack and succeeded in forcing Mumin Khan out of his trenches. Next day Shahnawaz delivered the assault in person. Mir Mumin was defeated and captured. Yahiya's soldiers, whose salaries had been in arrears for the past four or five months since the commencement of hostilities,

¹ Ratan Singh, 389-90 ; Gyan Singh, 678.

flocked into the city and clamoured for the payment of their dues. They were easily seduced by Shahnawaz Khan. He entered Lahore quite unopposed on the 21st March, seized the property of Yahiya and took him captive. He appointed Kauramal his *Diwan* in lieu of Lakhpat Rai and confirmed Adina Beg Khan in the civil and military charge of the Jullundur Doāb.¹

The usurpation of the Panjab government could not be brooked by the Delhi court, but no drastic action was taken against Shahnawaz Khan, because the Wazir, Qamr-ud-din Khan, first wanted to secure the release of his son-in-law, Yahiya Khan, who in case of the despatch of a force from Delhi might be put to death. Nawab Qamr-ud-din-Khan wrote several conciliatory and then threatening letters to Shahnawaz Khan demanding the liberation of Yahiya Khan. But he always received a reply that Yahiya Khan's freedom from captivity depended on his own confirmation in the viceroyalty of the Panjab under a royal rescript².

Yahiya Khan, however, found means four months later by the contrivance of his aunt, Dardana Begam, who was a sister of Zakariya Khan and wife of Jani Khan, to get himself conveyed in a *Khwān*, a vessel three feet in length and two feet in breadth, railed in and covered with a cupola of lattice work, over which a piece of broad cloth was thrown to shelter the whole. He was safely carried out of his prison-house, through the guards to the city gate, where mounting on an excellent horse already awaiting him, he set out at a gallop and was soon out of his brother's reach. In a few days he arrived at Shahjahanabad to remove a great anxiety from his father-in-law's mind.³

¹ Anand Ram, 289-95 and 304; Ashub, ii, 451-2; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 73a-b; Khushwaqt Rai, 76; Ibrat Miqal, ii, 55a; Sohan Lal, i, 113-4; Ali-ud-din, 106b.

² Ashub, ii, 452; Bayān, 161; Ibrat Miqal, ii, 55a.

³ Anand Ram, 304-5; Bayān, 161; Ashub, ii, 452-3; Siyār, iii, 12; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 73b, Ibrat Miqal, ii, 55a; Ali-ud-din, 106b. (When Shahnawaz

Shahnawaz Khan knew that he had hopelessly broken with the Delhi Emperor by ousting his lawful nominee, but he had hoped for reconciliation so long as his elder brother was in captivity. But with his escape at the end of July this ray of hope was also gone. He, however, made one more effort. He despatched his agent to the imperial capital with the request that his misdeed be forgiven and that he should be appointed the deputy viceroy under the Wazir. The envoy reached Delhi on the 3rd September, 1747, but nothing came of this embassy.¹

Shahnawaz now felt sure that the retribution of the Emperor and his Wazir must fall upon him. Consequently he turned his mind in all directions to secure support. At this juncture the political horizon of India was suddenly overcast with clouds. Nadir Shah was murdered on the 9th June, 1747, and his generalship passed on to Ahmad Shah Abdali, who conquered Kandahar and Kabul and became master of Afghanistan as far as Peshawar. Though it was a big kingdom, it was not sufficient for his ambition. He determined to try his luck further. With Peshawar as a suitable base, the man-power of Afghanistan behind him and no hindrance in front, India the *El Dorado* of western people, became his object.

Shahnawaz Khan was now advised by Adina Beg Khan to open communications with Ahmad Shah Abdali.² Con-

Khan got angry with his aunt, she silenced him with a single sentence. "If by chance Yahiya Khan had imprisoned you, I would have secured your release also by any means in my power." *Ibrat-Miqal*, ii, 55a; *Bayān*, 161.)

¹ *Anand Ram*, 300; *Sarkār*, i, 195.

² *Siyār*, iii, 16.

Sayyid Ghulam Husain says that "the adviser of the young Viceroy at this time was Adina Beg Khan, who was a devil under the appearance of man. He was resolved to upset his master's power and to raise his own on its ruins. He addressed him in these words: 'You are no more than a nephew to Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan, but your elder brother, Yahiya Khan, is his son-in-law besides. He has gone to make complaints against

sequently, Shahnawaz Khan despatched his envoy to Ahmad Shah with the message, "Crown to Ahmad Shah and Wazirship to Shahnawaz."¹ He also declared himself a convert to the Shia religion and in his official seal replaced the names of the Mughal Emperors by the twelve *Imams* with a view to win the favour of the Persian soldiery of Ahmad Shah.²

Adina Beg Khan then probably to secure the confidence of the Delhi Government, informed the Delhi Wazir that Shahnawaz Khan was turning rebel against the authority of the Mughal Emperor and that he had invited help of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The Wazir was very much perturbed at this news, and he at once wrote to Shahnawaz Khan a conciliatory and affectionate letter saying that "their family, at all times attached to the Emperors of India, had never been defiled by the crime of ingratitude and treason. Beware of such a crime; beware of thinking that a traitor can thrive. It is a pity that a man like you should wish for the honour of obeying Ahmad Abdali, the *Yasawal*, rather than that of driving such a fellow from the frontiers of Hindustan. Would not the five provinces of Kabul, Kashmir, Thatta, Multan and Lahore fall into your hands in such a case, and would not your good uncle exert himself in supporting you with all the power of the Empire?"³ This letter had the desired effect. The reproof for treason and the hope of a bright future touched the young man's heart. He prepared to oppose the invader, whom a little while before he had invited.

you in the court. Rest assured that neither the Emperor nor the Wazir would leave you undisturbed in the full enjoyment of two governments. You have only one recourse of joining Ahmad Shah Abdali's party. He is a powerful and successful man and openly aspires to the Crown. He will look upon your joining him as the most unexpected favour which heaven could confer upon him."

¹ *Miskin*, 40; *Siyār*, iii, 17; *Ali-ud-din*, 106b.

² *Bayān*, 160; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 145; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 55a.

³ *Siyār*, iii, 17; cf. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 145-7.

Ahmad Shah Abdali was so much astonished at the proposal of Shahnawaz Khan of making him a present of the two provinces of Lahore and Multan, that he acknowledged the divine interposition on his undertaking. He immediately ordered the agreement to be drawn up, got it witnessed and guaranteed by the principal officers of his army and then sent it to Lahore by a person of distinction. He had no fear of the Delhi Government, because, while in attendance with Nadir Shah, he had fully observed the weakness of the Empire, the imbecility of the Emperor, the negligence of his ministers, and that spirit of independence which had crept in among the court grandees.¹

Ahmad Shah summoned all the Afghans of the Khyber Pass to join him. He then matured a plan of invasion, left Peshawar by the middle of December, 1747, crossed the rivers by bridges of boats, his track being marked by rapine, plunder and devastation, and encamped at Shahdara near Lahore on the 8th January, 1748. He had a force of nearly 18,000 soldiers but was absolutely without artillery.²

He had sent his ambassador, Harun Khan Sadozai, from Peshawar to Lahore to settle the plan of campaign with Shahnawaz Khan. The Viceroy proudly asked the messenger in a careless manner, "How is brother Ahmad Khan?" Harun Khan replied, "I do not know brother Ahmad Khan, I come from the Durrani Emperor." Thereupon both exchanged hot words. The Khan's proud and haughty bearing offended the youthful viceroy, and the envoy was immediately dismissed. On hearing this Ahmad Shah was upset, but his spiritual guide, Sayyid Muhammad Sabir Shah, pressed Ahmad Shah to allow him to proceed in advance to bring Shahnawaz back to allegiance. Consequently, he left the Durrani army at Rohtas and advanced towards Lahore by rapid marches.

¹ *Siyār*, iii. 9, 17, 18.

² *Anand Ram*, 325; *Bayān*, 162; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 74a; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 7.

Sabir Shah's fame as a magician had preceded him, and people said that he had come to Lahore in order to render the Mughal artillery powerless by his charms. On hearing of this extraordinary man's arrival, Shahnawaz Khan sent Adina Beg Khan and his Diwan Kauramal to know his purpose. The holy man replied: "I have no business with any of you, nor do I intend you any harm. I have come only because I cannot help remembering that I was born in this city, had connections with some of its citizens, and am under obligation to some of its former rulers. I cannot help feeling for them all. I may tell you that faithlessness had never proved successful, neither is it an object of approbation with God or man, nor is your sabre equal to Ahmad Shah Abdali's sabre." He was yet speaking, when a voice from behind broke out in this exclamation, "Is his sabre of iron and ours of wood?" "No," was the reply, "your sabre, as well as his, is of iron, but your fortune is not equal to his. His star is now in ascension and I do not see that yours keeps pace with it." He saw Shahnawaz Khan and tried to persuade him in soft and sweet words, saying that he himself had invited the invader and that to break his word afterwards was not proper. When these words failed to have their desired effect, Sabir Shah indignantly rebuked the young Viceroy. Shahnawaz was enraged, and put Sabir Shah to death by pouring molten silver into his throat.¹

On hearing of this outrage Ahmad Shah thought no more of negotiation and on the 10th January ordered his troops to ford the river one by one. They took up their position at the Shalamar Garden, four miles east of Lahore. Shahnawaz also, at the head of 70,000 horse and foot, with good artillery occupied an entrenched position at the fort of Hazrat Ishan (Mianmir) and near Shah Balawal in the Parvizabad suburb. These two divisions met the enemy on

¹ *Bayān*, 163-4; *Siyār*, iii, 17; *Husain Shahi*, 20; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 74a; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanistan*, 146; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 56a; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 6; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 123.

the 11th January. A fierce contest took place, but neither side made any marked impression. Shah nawaz's notable chief, Hashmatullah Khan, lost his life on that day.

The battle raged in this manner till evening. At dusk the Indian soldiers, thinking the fighting over, began to retire to their camps in complete disorder, as was usual with them. They were attacked by the Afghans, who showered on them such sharp volleys of musket fire that they were hopelessly routed. No Indian commander came forward to rally the fleeing soldiers, except Adina Beg Khan who, finding the cause of Shah nawaz Khan hopeless, wished to retain his confidence by a determined action only for a short time. He took shelter under the walled city and continued the fight, keeping the Afghans from proceeding farther than the tomb of Hazrat Ishan. Shah nawaz Khan had guarded all the gates and streets and had sent a force under Jumla Khan,¹ an Afghan of Kasur, who, instead of fighting, immediately went over to the enemy with his whole force.

Shah nawaz Khan had asked the Emperor and the Wazir for assistance, but no reinforcements were forthcoming. Finding Lahore untenable he decamped for Delhi, leaving Lahore at dead of night the same day, with all the jewellery and gold he could carry. His example was followed by his officers and soldiers, and Lahore fell into the hands of the conqueror without any further opposition. The outer portions of the city, especially Mughalpura, were completely laid waste; but the city was spared at the request of Mir Mumin Khan, Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan, Mir Amin Khan, Mir Nemat Khan, Lakhpat Rai, Surat Singh and others, who had now escaped from prison, on the promise of a ransom of 30 lakhs, 22 lakhs of which was paid the same day.²

¹ Zilla Khan of Elliot, viii, 106 and Jali Khan of Sohan Lal, i, 123, is Jumla Khan, an Afghan chief of Kasur.

² Anand Ram, 328; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 74a; Ali-ud-din, 108a; Sohan Lal, i, 123.

Shahnawaz Khan had left the whole of his camp equipage, artillery, elephants, camels and horses, in the possession of Ahmad Shah Durrani. These contributed greatly to augment his military resources, as well as to add to his pomp and glory. Abdali stayed in Lahore for a month and a quarter and compelled all the chiefs of the Panjab, including Ranjit Dev of Jammu, to render him allegiance and pay homage. With a view to exercise the prerogative of royalty and following the Indian custom, he also struck his own coins in Lahore.¹ Thus when he felt quite confident of meeting the imperial army on an equal footing, he left Lahore for Delhi on the 19th February leaving Jumla Khan of Kasur as his governor in the provincial capital.²

The flight of Shahnawaz Khan to Delhi had stirred that indolent court, and the Emperor despatched a huge army of two lakhs under Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan to check the progress of Ahmad Shah Abdali, who continued his advance until he met the Mughal army at Manupur on 11th March, 1748. In this battle Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan was slain; but his son, Muin-ul-Mulk, defeated Ahmad Shah's army, which fled back to Afghanistan. Adina Beg Khan, who was in close attendance on Muin-ul-Mulk, was twice wounded in this battle.³

4. *Adina Beg Khan under Muin-ul-Mulk* *April, 1748 to November, 1753*

After the battle of Manupur, the imperial army rested on the Sutlej till the 12th April, when under Prince Ahmad Shah it left for Delhi, and Muin-ul-Mulk went to Lahore to

¹ For details cf. *J. A. S. B.*, Vol. LIV, 1885, p. 69.

² *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 6-7; *Anand Ram*, 325-32; *Bayān*, 164; *Zafar Namah*, 3a-4b; *Siyār*, iii, 17-8; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 97; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 74a; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 294b; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 7; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 125-6; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 147-8; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 56b-57a; *Gulzar-i-Shahi*, 523-4; *Ali-ud-din*, 107b-108a; *Husain Shahi*, 25.

³ About Adina Beg cf. *Anand Ram*, 358; *Zafar Namah*, 9b; *Sarkār*, i, 228-9.

take up his new post as Viceroy of the Panjab, to which he had been appointed by the Emperor Muhammad Shah. Muin-ul-Mulk appointed Kauramal his Diwan and confirmed Adina Beg Khan in the *Faujdari* of the Jullundur Doāb. Muin found absolute anarchy prevailing in the country, for which the Sikhs were chiefly responsible. Haro Singh and Karora Singh in the Sirhind territory, Jassa Singh Ahluwalia in the Jullundur Doāb, Lajja Singh and Hari Singh in the Bari Doāb and Charat Singh in the Rachna Doāb were audaciously creating disturbances everywhere.¹

Muin was not the man to allow such a state of affairs to exist. Having established himself in Lahore by June, 1748, he despatched punitive expeditions in pursuit of the Sikhs. The laurels which Muin had won at the battle of Manupur inspired awe in the minds of the Sikhs, who retreated before his contingents. At the same time Adina Beg Khan was given strict instructions to curb the power of the Sikhs, who had become supreme in the northern hilly portions of the Doāb. He "began as formerly to intrigue with the Sicks, and took no effectual means to suppress them."² He, however, led an expedition against them and in the engagement which followed both the parties lost heavily, the Sikhs alone leaving about 600 dead on the battle-field. Adina Beg Khan, in view of the superior number of the Sikh forces, had to give up the struggle. He returned to Jullundur, the seat of his government, and sought help from Muin.³ In the meantime the rains had set in and all further operations were suspended.

After the rainy season the Sikhs again began to stir out in search of fresh adventures, and in October they decided to celebrate the Diwali festival at Hari Mandir. They bathed in the tank, said prayers at the temple, illuminated

¹ Sohan Lal, i, 127-8.

² Browne, ii, 16.

³ Sohan Lal, i, 128; Browne, ii, 16; Bakhtmal, 67.

the whole place and made offerings to the Holy Granth. All this they did, but they were not oblivious of the impending danger from the government of Muin-ul-Mulk. Accordingly five hundred of them took shelter within the fort of Ram Rauni, while the rest hid themselves in the neighbouring jungle with a view to render help to the garrison in case of an emergency.

Khushwaqt Rai, the author of *Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Panjab* (folios 83-4) continues the story in the following words: "Nawab Mir Mannu, on hearing this news, marched with troops to chastise them. Under his orders Adina Beg Khan also joined him. Having arrived at Amritsar they laid siege to the fort of Ram Rauni, which is now known as Ramgarh. The siege continued for four months and daily skirmishes took place.¹ During this period two hundred Sikhs of the garrison were killed. The rest wrote to Jassa Singh Thoka (carpenter), who was in the service of Adina Beg Khan, that he, being on the side of the Muslims, was the cause of their ruin, and if he did not come that day to their help and rescue, he would never be readmitted into the fold of their church.²

"Jassa Singh, in consideration of his co-religionists, deserting Adina Beg Khan entered the fort in the night.³ It strengthened the perseverance of the besieged. At this time Kauramal was the Diwan, who was a believer in the religion of Nanak Shah. Jassa Singh Thoka sent a message to the Diwan to this effect, 'The garrison can secure relief only through your efforts. If you try, three hundred lives

¹ Ratan Singh (401) says that Muin's troops were very much harassed by the night attacks of the Sikhs who came in large numbers to succour their brethren in the fort.

² Jassa Singh had been excommunicated from the Khalsa brotherhood for killing his daughter (Ratan Singh, 402; Gyan Singh, 687), and probably for deserting them when deputed to Adina Beg Khan.

³ Jassa Singh headed a contingent of 100 Sikhs and 60 Hindus on this occasion. Ratan Singh, 402; Gyan Singh, 687.

can be saved.' Kauramal made a request to the Nawab, saying, 'The Sikhs always cause confusion and disorder. It will be advisable, if you settle something (چیزی علفه) for these people. They will not create disturbances afterwards, and I will be responsible for it.' Adina Beg Khan, however, dissented (apparently out of jealousy for Kauramal). Muin said, 'Whatever Kauramal does, is always to the advantage of the government.' Adina Beg Khan remarked, 'Goodness to evil-doers is doing evil to good people.' The Nawab replied, 'It is better to stitch the mouth of a dog with morsels.' He approved of Kauramal's suggestion, granted them one-fourth of the revenue of the *parganah* of Patti and came back to Lahore. Kauramal took a number of Sikhs in his pay and showed them all indulgence. Being a believer of the Guru he paid the Sikhs a fine of Rs. 5 per day for smoking."¹

Diwan Kauramal was the most trusted and the most capable officer of Muin-ul-Mulk. The Viceroy was so pleased with his valour, diplomacy and loyalty that he appointed him Governor of Multan province after conferring upon him the title of Maharaja. Muin always sought his advice on all important matters. Adina Beg's unbounded ambition could not tolerate the existence of such a formidable personality and he was always on the look-out to ruin him. This opportunity was afforded to him during the third invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani.

The Durrani entered the Panjab in December, 1751, and besieged Lahore for four months. Neither Abdali for want of artillery nor Muin for lack of reinforcements from Delhi could make short work of this long affair. The whole

¹ Cf. Ratan Singh, 400-4 and Gyan Singh, 684-7. ("It is supposed," says Forster, i, 314, "that their force would then have been annihilated; had not this people found a strenuous advocate in his minister Kauramal, who was himself of the Khulasah sect and diverted Meer Munnoo from reaping the full fruits of the superiority he had gained." Cf. Malcolm, 91-2.)

country around Lahore within a radius of 50 miles was entirely laid waste by the Afghans with the result that "no lamp was lighted in any house for a distance of three marches and an extreme scarcity of grain prevailed in the camps of both the armies."¹ In the city of Lahore flour was sold at two seers to the rupee and in place of grass the horses were fed on old and rotten bags and chopped straw of huts even of ten years' standing.²

When starvation stared them in the face, Muin wanted to precipitate an action, and accordingly he called a council of war on the 4th March, 1752. Some desired peace, whereas others were for fighting a decisive action. It was pointed out by Kauramal that the Nawab's troops were mostly raw levies and were no match in the open for the hardy warriors of the north-west, that the country for miles around had been foraged and ruined and therefore Abdali's camp was also short of provisions, and that shortly afterwards hot weather would set in and Abdali's troops, finding the sun intolerable, would either return or attack them at disadvantage.³

This was the wisest plan, but Adina Beg, who was always opposed to Kauramal from policy, declared in favour of an immediate action.⁴ The Viceroy, prompted by his own ardour and courage, listened to the importunities of Adina Beg Khan, who was actuated by the aim of bringing ruin on Muin and Kauramal and securing his own appointment to the Viceroyalty of the Panjab. Issuing from his entrenchments Muin advanced towards Abdali's camp,⁵ and engaged him in actions on 6th March, 1752, but was driven back with

¹ *Miskin*, 75.

² *Khushwaqt Rai*, 85-6; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 85a.

³ *Siyār*, iii, 44.

⁴ *Khazan-i-Amira*, 98; *Farhat-un-Nazirin* in *Elliot*, viii, 168; *Siyār*, iii, 44; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 85b; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg*, 54a; *Bakhtmal*, 70; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 87; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 294b; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 8; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-Afghanan*, 154; *Shah Yusaf*, 58b.

⁵ *Siyār*, iii, 44; *Sarkār*, i, 431.

loss. Kauramal, on coming to his aid, was slain.¹ Adina Beg Khan treacherously withdrew his troops and Muin was forced to surrender.

Muin went fearlessly to Abdali's camp, attended only by three persons. Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan, the highest Afghan nobles, received him and presented him before Ahmad Shah Durrani. The Durrani was struck with the noble bearing, boldness of address and frankness of manners of this young man of parts, the victor of Manupur, at whose hands he had sustained a defeat in 1748. The following interesting conversation took place between them :—

- DURRANI ... Why didn't you submit earlier ?
 MUIN ... I had then another master to serve.
 DURRANI ... Why didn't that master come to your help ?
 MUIN ... He thought his servant could take care of himself.
 DURRANI ... What would you have done if you had captured me ?
 MUIN ... I would have cut off your head and sent it to my master at Delhi.
 DURRANI ... Now that you are at my mercy, what should I do to you ?
 MUIN ... If you are a shopkeeper sell me (for a ransom), if you are a butcher kill me, but if you are a king, grant me your grace and pardon.
 DURRANI ... May God bless you, I pardon you !²

¹ *Farhat-un-Nazirin* in *Elliot*, viii, 168, charges Adina Beg with shooting Kauramal from behind, while *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan* accuses Bazid Khan of Kasur of this crime. *Ali-ud-din*, 111b, says that Kauramal was shot by some person at the instigation of Adina Beg Khan. All other authorities hold that Kauramal was killed by some person from amongst Muin's troops, and it seems probable that Adina Beg, if not directly, was responsible for his death in an indirect manner. Adina Beg's enmity with Kauramal is admitted by *Khazan-i-Amira*, 98; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, i, 360; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*; 85b; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 294b; and *Shah Yusuf*, 58b.

² *Miskin*, 79; *Husain Shahi*, 32-3; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 88; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 54b; *Sohan Lal*, i, 134-5; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 8; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 154; *Ali-ud-din*, 112a-b.

Ahmad Shah embraced him, conferred upon him the title of *Farzand Khan Bahadur Rustam-i-Hind*, granted him a robe of honour, an aigrette for the crest and the very turban he was wearing, and installed him in the *subahdari* of the Panjab on his behalf.

After the war, when matters returned to normal, reports of Sikh ravages began to pour into Lahore from all parts of the country. Muin-ul-Mulk immediately despatched Sadiq Beg Khan in conjunction with Adina Beg Khan to punish the Sikhs in the Jullundur Doāb. Adina Beg Khan hailed this opportunity to wash away the suspicions attached to his treachery at Lahore during the recent campaign of the Durrani.¹

Both the commanders marched from Lahore with a strong force and entered the Jullundur Doāb in pursuit of the Sikhs. They received intelligence that the Sikhs had assembled near Makhawal probably to celebrate the Baisākhi festival.² The Sikhs were taken quite unawares, because they had received news of the Durrani siege of Lahore and were sure that neither Muin nor his officers would be free to turn their attention to them. They were deep in the midst of their festivities when Adina Beg Khan and Sadiq Beg Khan suddenly fell upon them and put a large number of them to the sword, while the rest were forced to escape for their life. But such was their hardihood and doggedness that soon after they began to plunder again in small parties.³ Malcolm⁴ blames Adina Beg Khan for the Sikh plunders. He says: "That able but artful chief considered this turbulent tribe in no other light than as the means of his personal advancement. He was careful not to

¹ Browne, ii, 17.

² *Ibid.*, ii, 17 calls it Holi, which is apparently wrong, as it fell on the 18th February, when Muin was shut up in trenches at Lahore hard pressed by the Abdali.

³ Browne, ii, 17.

⁴ Malcolm: *Sketch of the Sikhs*, 92.

reduce them altogether, but, after defeating them in an action which was fought near Makhawal, he entered into a secret understanding with them, by which, though their excursions were limited, they enjoyed a security to which they had been unaccustomed, and from which they gathered strength and resources for future efforts." Adina Beg always tried and with almost uniform success to keep the confidence of the Viceroy of the Panjab, under whom he was serving. He found Muin following a ruthless policy towards the Sikhs and he kept him in humour by sending him from time to time 40 or 50 Sikh captives from the Jullundur Doāb, who were as a rule killed with wooden hammers.¹

In the course of his travels in the Upper Bari Doāb, either upon official duty or upon hunting expeditions, Adina Beg was much attracted by the fertile district of *Riyārki*, now called Gurdaspur and in 1752 he established a town, named after him Adinanagar, at a place eight miles north of Gurdaspur, on the Hasli Canal or *Shah Nahar*.²

5 *Adina Beg Khan achieves the Viceroyalty of the Panjab November, 1753 to October, 1756*

Muin-ul-Mulk died suddenly, probably from the effects of poison, on the 3rd November, 1753. His death was a

¹ *Miskin*, 84.

”گاه یگانه آدینه بیگ خان از ضلع دوآبه چهل پنجاه سکه‌بان را گرفته می‌ضرس‌تادند بدستور بضرب پنچپچو هائی میکشتند“

² *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg*, 61a-b. *Gurdaspur Gazetteer*, 1891, p. 26, says that it was founded in 1730 A.D. (1143 A.H.) as shown by the *Abjed* chronogram, "*Khujista Bina*." But according to the value of the letters of this chronogram we get 1121 A.H. or 1709 A.D. which is absolutely wrong.

خ	ج	م	ت	ه
600	3	60	400	5

1121 = $\frac{600 + 3 + 60 + 400 + 5}{10}$ = خجسته بنا

ب	ن	ا
2	50	1

signal for the forces of disruption and disorder to make headway. Muin had left a two-year-old son, who was now proclaimed Viceroy, but the real power lay in the hands of the masterful widow of Muin, Surayya Begam (by some called Murad Begam, known as the Mughlani Begam) a lady of remarkable address and unbounded ambition.

Bhikari Khan, surnamed Roshan-ud-daulah Rustam-i-Jang, a Turki general and courtier of Lahore, who was "the dearest friend and most trusted factotum of Muin," and the "centre of all affairs in the province in his time,"¹ revolted against the Begam. She, however, cleverly won over the other Turki nobles and succeeded in removing the threat of civil war. But another catastrophe soon fell upon her, which cut off her hopes and left her in the lurch for some time. The Baby-Governor died early in May, 1754, displaying the same symptoms of poisoning as his father.²

The domineering Begam now openly placed herself at the head of the Government of the Panjab and despatched her agents to Kandahar as well as to Delhi to secure approval. The new Emperor, Alamgir II, appointed Mumin Khan the Governor of the Panjab on the 25th October, 1754, but his authority was negated by the Begam, in whose hands lay the real control of government.³ The Mughlani Begam established herself securely in the seat of the provincial government. But she soon fell into a course of pleasure and abandoned modesty.⁴ Eunuchs were the only medium through whom the Mughlani Begam conducted the state affairs. The Diwan, Bakhshi and other government officials received her orders through eunuchs who never agreed among themselves and constantly quarrelled.⁵

¹ *Siyār*, iii, 51; *Sarkār*, i, 439.

² "Many people believed that Bhikari Khan poisoned the innocent (child) through eunuch Zamurrad who had access to him." *Miskin*, 97-8.

³ *Delhi Chronicle*, 115-6.

⁴ *Miskin*, 99, 122, 159-60, 230-1; *Ghulam Ali*, 26; *Shiv Prashad*, 33b; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 98-9. (All contemporary authorities.)

⁵ *Miskin*, 98.

The eunuchs' rule and the Begam's profligacy disappointed the Turkish nobles who came from the same stock in Central Asia as the Begam's father and husband and now they were resolved to defy such a degraded authority. Bhikari Khan was the first to rebel in January, 1754. He was, however, confined by her in her palace and was beaten to death in April, 1755.¹ In December, 1754, the Mughalia courtiers decided that, "as a fissure had appeared in the family honour of the late Nawab,"² the best course for them was to entrust Khwajah Mirza Khan with the administration of the province. Khwajah Mirza came to Lahore, confined the Begam in a house and assumed the viceroyalty of the Panjab.³ But she cleverly managed to depute Khwajah Abdullah Khan, her mother's brother, to Ahmad Shah Abdali, whose troops restored her to authority⁴ in April, 1755. In July, 1755, Khwajah Abdullah confined the Begam to her mother's house and became undisputed master of Lahore.⁵

In the face of such confusion and chaos, Adina Beg Khan became independent of both the Delhi Emperor and the Lahore Viceroy. He increased his resources and strengthened his position, with the result that he was the only man who succeeded in maintaining peace and order in the country under his charge. But he did not have smooth sailing for long, as he was soon called upon to deal with a serious menace which arose from the east—the invasion of Qutb Khan Rohilla.

Qutb Khan had with Najib-ud-daulah joined the Emperor's troops in the battle between Prince Ahmad Shah and Safdar Jang. He was not a Rohilla by caste, but as he was in the service of the Rohillas, he came to be known as a Rohilla

¹ *Ibid.*, 107.

² *Ibid.*, 99.

³ *Ibid.*, 104.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 106-7.

⁵ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 112.

himself. He was given the *parganahs* of Kairana, Barot, Sardhana and Kandhla by way of pay. These territories were afterwards given to the Marathas by Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk. Qutb Khan felt exasperated at the loss of his *jagir*, so he made up his mind to defy the Delhi Emperor. He consequently entered the Sirhind territory on the 11th March, 1755, and took to plunder and rapine. He ravaged Sonipat, Panipat, Karnal, Azimabad (Taravari) and Thanesar and marched upon Sirhind after defeating an imperial force at Karnal. Sadiq Beg was the Governor of the Sirhind province. His Afghan troops, finding a tribesman coming against the Governor, clamoured for pay and threatened to join the enemy. Sadiq Beg had to evacuate Sirhind and fled towards Lahore.

The Wazir pressed the Emperor to pursue Qutb Khan but he declined; so the Wazir himself procrastinated. Ultimately he left Delhi on 13th April, 1755, and at Sonipat on 15th April he learnt that Qutb Khan had seized Sirhind. Sadiq Beg now approached Adina Beg Khan, the Governor of the Jullundur Doāb, for help.

Adina Beg Khan could not tolerate the existence of such a formidable foe in his close neighbourhood and he made up his mind to try his strength with the invader. Thus says the contemporary Delhi diarist: "Adina Beg, who had been the ruler of the place for years and whom all the zamindars of that country obeyed on account of his strictness and ability, gathered together all the zamindars and an army of the Sikhs, the followers of Nanak and thus had about 50,000 horse and nearly the same number of foot, along with cannons, light artillery (Rehkala), long firelocks (Jizails), matchlocks and rockets."¹ He marched to the *ghat* opposite Ropar. On hearing this Qutb Khan with great spirit and bravery (کمال شجاعت و حلاوت) left Sirhind and crossed the

¹ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 85-6.

river to oppose Adina Beg Khan. Jamal Khan of Malerkotla with his brothers and sons joined Qutb Khan at the head of a large army. An engagement between the parties took place on 11th April, 1755. Qutb Khan, Jamal Khan and other chiefs of the army lost their lives and Adina Beg Khan was victorious.

Adina Beg took over the administration of Sirhind and its dependencies and brought the country up to Shahabad, Thanesar, Ghuram, Mansurpur and Mustafabad into his possession. He then wrote to the Delhi Wazir: "The zamindars of this country are refractory and require force to keep them in order. If you intend to come here bring with you a large army and abundant war material, otherwise your coming here would be inadvisable. Leave this territory to me." The Wazir, knowing his own military impotence and poverty, gave up the idea of advancing and by the advice of Najib decided on crossing over to the eastern bank of the Jumna. This victory brought not only one more province to Adina Beg Khan, but added new lustre to his glory. The Delhi Emperor conferred upon him the coveted title of "Zafar Jang Bahadur," and all the hill chiefs, including Saif Ali Khan of Kangra, submitted to him and paid tribute.¹

Having secured his position in two important divisions,

¹ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sami*, 76-88; *Delhi Chronicle*, 122. Cf. *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 461a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 98b-99a; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 56b-57a; *Ahmad Shah*, 880-1. The author of *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan* describes an interesting incident in this connection. He says that in the engagement Adina Beg had been defeated first and his Commander-in-Chief, Aziz Beg, along with other officers had taken to flight. Adina Beg Khan was also about to flee, when his Diwan, Lala Bishamber Das, who was close by him on horseback, said: "It is a matter of regret if you run away at this time. You will lose all respect. If we die fighting in this battle, we will leave a name behind us; otherwise we will be put to shame in both the worlds." Adina Beg at once made up his mind to offer further resistance. He organised his troops and delivered a sally. A bullet hit Qutb Khan Rohilla and he died instantaneously. His troops lost heart and were routed by Adina Beg Khan, who acquired immense booty.

Jullundur and Sirhind, Adina Beg Khan turned his attention towards Lahore, where a favourable situation was arising for him. On account of his cruel deeds Khwajah Abdullah became very unpopular; his troops deserted him and people hated him. Adina Beg Khan took advantage of the unrest prevailing in the provincial capital and marched upon Lahore, drove Abdullah towards Sind, and appointed Sadiq Beg Khan his deputy to manage state affairs.¹

The Begam conveyed news of this to Ahmad Shah Abdali at Kandahar and sought help from him. He despatched Jahan Khan with two special contingents. Sadiq Beg fled to Sirhind about December, 1755, and the Begam was restored to the *subahdari* with Khwajah Abdullah as her deputy.²

By this time the Sikhs had become very powerful. They harassed Adina Beg Khan, because he was not prepared to allow them to create disturbances in his territory. Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the celebrated leader of the Dal Khalsa, "was engaged in perpetual contests with Adina Beg Khan with varying success; but in November, 1755, he gained a decided advantage at Kaddur, and compelled the Khan to cede to him Fatahabad on the Bias."³

The Mughlani Begam was kept under the surveillance of Abdullah at Lahore, which she resented. She resolved to regain full power through the Delhi Government, which was under the supreme control of Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk, who was betrothed to her daughter. Consequently she wrote secret letters to him repeatedly asking for help.⁴

The Wazir had received constant reports of the misgovernment of the Begam from the discontented nobility.⁵ He was

¹ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 124.

² *Ibid.*, 151; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9.

³ *Rajas of the Panjab*, 458.

⁴ *Miskin*, 113-4.

⁵ *Ali-ud-din*, 113a.

in financial difficulties, so he decided to seek at Lahore wealth¹ and a bride for himself and two provinces—Lahore and Multan—for the Empire.² In order to deceive Adina Beg Khan and the Durrani he pretended to go on a hunting expedition with the Imperial Prince Ali Gauhar and left Shahjahanabad on the 15th January, 1756, and reached Sirhind on the 7th February, 1756,³ where his further progress was stopped by Adina Beg Khan, who wrote to him, to send one eunuch with two or three thousand troops, promising to add his own contingent to them and to secure him possession of Lahore.⁴ The Wazir agreed to this proposal and sent Nasim Khan with nearly three thousand troops to Adina Beg.

Adina Beg Khan despatched Sadiq Beg Khan with 10,000 troops of his own and all these soldiers arrived at Lahore in a few days. From here they rode out in full glory to the Begam's residence to offer their *salaams*. Then they paid a visit of courtesy to Khwajah Abdullah Khan, brother of the Khan Bahadur. The Khwajah, in accordance with court etiquette, conferred upon Sadiq Beg Khan a *khilat*. Abdullah Khan guessed that he would be captured shortly afterwards and being frightened left the city the same night and fled away to Jammu.⁵

On the following day the Mughlani Begam triumphantly occupied her official residence and took the reins of government in her hands once more. She spent a month in preparations for the departure of her daughter, Umda Begam, and sent her with a suitable dowry in jewels and cash, accompanied by a full household of eunuchs, tents and other necessary requisites, at the head of an escort of 3,000 troops. The bride arrived at the camp of the Wazir on 4th March,

¹ Ghulam Ali, 25.

² Khair-ud-din's *Ibrat Namah*, in *Elliot*, viii, 242.

³ *Delhi Chronicle*, 130; *Miskin*, 114.

⁴ *Miskin*, 114.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 114. Cf. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 151.

1756. The Wazir afterwards secured the person of the Begam forcibly, and took her with him to Delhi.¹

The Wazir gave the government of Lahore and Multan to Adina Beg Khan on a tribute of thirty lakhs a year, appointed Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan to Lahore, as Adina's assistant, and afterwards returned to the imperial capital on 9th May, 1756.²

Though provided with an inadequate force and an empty treasury, Sayyid Jamil-ud-din restored order and governed Lahore well.³ But his rule was short. Khwajah Abdullah Khan went to Kandahar and brought back a strong Afghan force,⁴ before which the Sayyid retired from Lahore and joined Adina Beg in the Jullundur Doāb.⁵ The invaders captured and completely sacked the city on 4th October, 1756.⁶ Khwajah Abdullah Khan was appointed Governor of the Province for the Durrani, but his administration was harassed by the Sikhs, whose power was now growing formidable.⁷

6. *Adina Beg Khan and the Afghans* *November, 1756 to February, 1758*

The Mughlani Begam, chafing under the high-handedness of Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk, addressed some secret letters to

¹ *Miskin*, 114-6 and 119; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 130-1; *Shākir*, 79-80; *Siyār*, iii, 53; *Delhi Chronicle*, 131; *Sarkār*, ii, 60.

² *Miskin*, 120-4; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 131; *Delhi Chronicle*, 131 and 132; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 52; *Maasir*, iii, 890-1; *Siyār*, iii, 53; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 98b; *Ghulam Ali*, 26-7; *Shiv Prashad*, 33b; *Shākir*, 79-80; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 71a-b; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 156; *Bakhtmal*, 76; *Sohan Lal*, i, 139-40; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 51; *Ali-ud-din*, 113a-114a; *Sarkār*, ii, 60-1.

³ Cf. *Bakhtmal*, 76; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 90; *Sohan Lal*, i, 140; *Miskin*, 124.

⁴ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 151-2.

⁵ *Miskin*, 125.

⁶ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 152.

⁷ *Miskin*, 126.

Ahmad Shah Abdali, inviting him to invade India, and promised to disclose to him places of hidden treasures in Delhi.¹ He was also invited by Najib-ud-daulah² and the Delhi Emperor.³

Ahmad Shah Abdali accepted these invitations, and advanced with a large army to Peshawar in November, 1756. An advance-guard, under his son, Timur Shah, and Commander-in-Chief, Jahan Khan, pursued Adina Beg Khan, who lay with his force at Jalalabad, some 25 miles south-east of Amritsar. Adina Beg accompanied by Sadiq Beg and Jamal-ud-din abandoned his camp to the Afghans and fled first to Hansi⁴ and then to Khali Balwan in the Kangra Hills.⁵

The year 1757 saw the Mughlani Begam's fortunes at their zenith and at their nadir. During Abdali's campaign she had attained the invader's highest favour. Her services to him were indeed invaluable. It was she who secured him the virgin tributes from the imperial harem. She was responsible for procuring for him the hoarded treasures of all the court nobles of Delhi by telling him the exact amount of wealth in their possession. One day she presented him several trays full of gems and jewels, and thereby won his favour.⁶

He grew more kind and generous to the Begam when she accompanied him in his campaign south of Delhi and granted her Jullundur Doāb, Jammu and Kashmir as a fief. She

¹ *Ali-ud-din*, 114b.

² *Nur-ud-din*, 14b.

³ For Emperor's invitation, cf. Francklin's *Shah Aulam*, 4-5.

⁴ *Khazan-i-Amira*, 99.

”آدینه بیگ خان چون طفل کہ از مکتب رہ کند از لاهور
بصحرائی هانسی و حصار فرار نمود“

⁵ Cf. *Forster*, i, 317.

⁶ *Miskin*, 138; *Sarkār*, ii, 67.

appointed one of her relations, Khwajah Ibrahim Khan, to the Government of Kashmir, confirmed the Raja of Jammu in the administration on her behalf and invited Adina Beg Khan to take over the charge of the Jullundur Doāb.¹ Miskin took the *khilat* for Adina Beg Khan, delivered it to him in the hills and stayed with him for some time.

Meanwhile Adina Beg received a *farman* from Timur Shah and a letter from Jahan Khan to this effect: "Ahmad Shah Durrani had intended to go to the Deccan first, but afterwards he gave up this idea and conferred this country as far as the boundary of Sirhind on us (May, 1757). It falls upon you now to present yourself at our service. In case of non-compliance with this order the whole country of the Doāb will be laid waste and you will be pursued in the hills."² Adina Beg Khan preferred the Begam's suzerainty to the overlordship of Timur and Jahan Khan, and sent no reply.

Receiving no answer from Adina Beg Khan, Jahan Khan marched into the Doāb and gave over many towns to pillage. Adina Beg Khan then informed him that he was ready to undertake the administration of the Doāb under Timur Shah provided that he was exempted from attending his court at Lahore.³ Timur Shah, sensible of his own inexperience and Adina Beg's skill in government and revenue matters, resolved to obtain his services and wrote him several civil letters. Finally he sent him the patent as well as the *khilat* of the Doāb on a definite undertaking of 36 lakhs of rupees to be remitted to him annually at Lahore, and exempted him from personally attending the Lahore

¹ Miskin, 140.

² Ibid., 145.

³ Ibid., 165: "باین شرط کہ بملازمت حضور نخواهد آمد و بذات خود رجوع نخواهد گشت"

court.¹ For a surety of his conduct and the punctual payment of the tribute, his agent Dilaram was kept at Lahore in constant attendance at the court.²

After a time a quarrel arose between Jahan Khan and Adina Beg Khan about the payment of the tribute, and Jahan Khan imprisoned Dilaram. The Mughlani Begam intervened on his behalf and contrived his escape. But she was seized and beaten³ by Jahan Khan, whose troopers ransacked her house of all it contained and placed her in oppressive confinement.⁴

Jahan Khan then summoned Adina Beg Khan to Lahore ostensibly to seek his advice as to measures to subdue the Sikhs.⁵ But Adina Beg Khan flatly refused to come. When threatened with the consequences of his disobedience, "he despatched agents with presents to the Prince to secure his pardon for not attending in person."⁶ Timur Shah granted pardon, but insisted upon his presence at Lahore, and, detaining his agents, again summoned him to his court. Adina Beg evaded compliance on the ground that his presence was badly required in his own territory to check the Sikhs, who were lying encamped in the neighbourhood and that his absence from his province would result in its occupation by them. The Prince sent a strong detachment of his troops to seize Adina Beg Khan. But the Khan retired with his troops to the foot-hills and secured the help of the Sikhs.⁷

¹ *Ibid.*, 147: "لیکن ملازمت و مبعراثی خان مذکور موقوف ماند"

² *Miskin*, 165; *Khazan-i Amira*, 100; *Siyār*, iii, 63; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 102a; *Ahmad Shah*, 872; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 295a and 317a.

³ *Miskin*, 170.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 168-71.

⁵ *Ali-ud-din*, 177a, states that it was reported to Timur Shah that Adina Beg Khan possessed lakhs of rupees and the best way of securing it was to summon him to Lahore, and in case of non-compliance to attack him and dispossess him of all his riches.

Miskin, 166; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 100; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 102a-b.

⁶ *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 55a; cf. *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 317a.

⁷ *Siyār*, iii, 64.

taking a large number of them into his pay and granting them the right to plunder. He also won over Sadiq Beg Khan and Raja Bhup Singh, who commanded an army of 25,000 strong¹.

Murad Khan with the Afghan troops crossed the Beas and prepared to attack Adina Beg Khan. The Sikhs, intoxicated with opium and *bhang*, under the leadership of Sodhi Barbhag Singh and Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, fell upon the Afghans with indescribable fury inspiring the other troops with them. The Afghans were routed and their luggage looted.² Murad Khan fled in panic to Lahore. Adina Beg knew that he had now completely committed himself, so he gave the Sikhs leave to pillage the whole Doāb, including the city of Jullundur.³

The Sikhs were quick to seize the chance, as they expected Jahan Khan at any moment to invade the Doāb. After ravaging all the districts of the Doāb,⁴ they entered Jullundur city, the home of Nasir Ali, who was responsible for the atrocities committed on the Sikhs at Kartarpur. Here they gave loose rein to their passion of revenge,⁵ indulging in the general plunder and massacre of their enemies. Children were put to the sword, women were dragged out and forcibly converted to Sikhism. Many of them carried off Muslim women of Jullundur as wives. The mosques of the town were defiled by pigs' blood. Nasir Ali's dead body was dug out of the grave and pig's flesh was thrust into his

¹ Ghulam Ali, i, 55-6; Ahmad Shah, 871-2; Ganesh Das, 156.

² Ghulam Ali, i, 56.

³ Khazan-i-Amira, 100; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 102a; Siyār, iii, 64; Irshad-ul-Mustqim, 295a and 317a.

”قوم سیکھ تمام پرگنات دوآبہ خصوص جالندھر را باشارۂ آدینہ بیگ خان بشدت تاراج نمودند“

⁴ Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan in Elliot, viii, 266.

⁵ ”Jullundur town was burnt by the Sikhs in 1757.” Imperial Gazetteer, 1908, Panjab, i, 421.

mouth. This was done at the orders of Sodhi Barbhag Singh.¹

When informed of the disastrous defeat and retreat of the Afghan troops, Jahan Khan marched hurriedly from Lahore and met the vanquished army at Batala and "out of extremity of rage he ordered Murad Khan to be caned."²

Adina Beg Khan was not prepared for an open engagement with Jahan Khan because his own troops had been weakened by the previous battle and his allies the Sikhs had dispersed to plunder the Doāb. Moreover, he had not abandoned the last hope of reconciliation with the Prince or his guardian. He therefore retired to his old resort in the Khali Balwan hills, which were extremely difficult of access. Jahan Khan left Sarfaraz Khan in charge of the Jullundur Doāb and himself returned to Lahore.³ But Sarfaraz Khan could not cope with the situation. The ever vigilant Sikhs were determined not to allow any rest to the Afghans and came down from the hills in all directions aggravating the chaos in the Doāb. In the course of a month the armies that had gone to the Doāb and Kashmir came back defeated, without having achieved anything. All order had vanished. Khwajah Mirza Khan succeeded in approaching the fastness of Adina Beg Khan, but he was won over by the refugee with the offer of his daughter in marriage. Even the environs of Lahore were not safe. Every night thousands of Sikhs used to fall upon the city and plunder the suburbs lying outside the walls, but no force was sent out to

¹ Ratan Singh, 420-1; Gyan Singh, 727-8. Bute Shah, 242b-243b, gives details about the manner in which the Sayyids restored peace in Jullundur by winning over the Sikhs.

² Ahmad Shah, 872.

³ Miskin, 166; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 102a; Khushwaqt Rai, 90; Ali-ud-din, 117b.

"ازین امر فساد کلی در تمام ملک پنجاب رو داد"

"نظم و نسق که کم و بیش بود آن هم رو بنخرابی گشته شد"

repel them and the city gates were closed one hour after nightfall. The government of the province was rendered impotent.¹ This state of anarchy continued from November, 1757 to February, 1758. A Marathi despatch says: "The Sikhs gathering together by our advice began to upset Abdali's rule; from some places they expelled his outposts. They defeated Saadat Khan Afridi, plundered all the Jullundur Doāb, and forced him to flee to the hills. By order of the Subahdar, Khwajah Abed Khan came from Lahore with 20,000 horse and foot to fight the Sikhs. In the end he was defeated, many of his captains were slain, all his camp and baggage was plundered, all the artillery left behind by Abdali was captured."²

7. *Adina Beg Khan with Maratha and Sikh Help expels the Afghans, March-April, 1758*

The Maratha army under their eminent leaders Raghunath Rao, the Peshwa's brother, and Malhar Rao Holkar and many other generals of note, had come to Delhi at the request of Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir. They had driven Najib-ud-daulah, the Durrani plenipotentiary, out of Delhi on the 6th September, 1757, and thenceforth roamed at large in the neighbourhood of the imperial capital. They also seized on Najib's province of Saharanpur and came as far as the bank of the Jumna. This caused fear in the mind of Abdul Samad Khan, the Durrani Governor of Sirhind, the eastern boundary of whose province touched the Jumna on the other side. He prepared to meet the danger, but the Marathas refrained from crossing the Jumna.

Adina Beg was not content to remain idle in safety, but

¹ *Miskin*, 166.

"هزارها مردم (سکھ) هجوم آورده ازیں سرقا آن سر لاہور را بنزد سم اسپ گرفتند و احدی را نمی گذاشتند کہ سالم برود"
Bakhtmal, 81.

² *S. P. D.*, ii, 83; *Sarkār*, ii, 69-70.

was anxious to secure a strong ally who could reinstate him in his position and help him drive the Afghans from the Panjab. He therefore sent repeated requests to Raghunath Rao, then in Delhi, to extend the Maratha dominions as far as the Indus, pointing out the rich harvest of spoil within their easy reach and also promising on his own part to pay them one lakh of rupees for every day of marching and Rs. 50,000 for halting.¹

The Marathas readily accepted the promise and an advanced division under Malhar Rao crossed the Jumna at the end of December and laid siege to the Afghan fort of Kunjpura. Abdul Samad Khan, the Governor of Sirhind, was busy fighting Alha Singh of Patiala, but on hearing of the close approach of the Marathas, he at once settled terms with Alha Singh, hurried to Sirhind on the 12th January, 1758, and entrenched there. Malhar Rao, however, recrossed the Jumna after exacting a tribute of five lakhs and thus gave temporary relief to Abdul Samad Khan.² The real Maratha invasion of the Panjab began about the end of February, 1758. Raghunath Rao, at the head of his vast Maratha forces, was at Mughal-ki-Sarai near Ambala on the 5th March, at Rajpura on the 6th, at Aluen-ki-Sarai-Banjara on the 7th, and in the neighbourhood of Sirhind on the 8th.³

Adina Beg Khan cleverly concealed his intrigue with the Marathas, upon whom he felt that he could not entirely rely to attack the main Durrani army. So he kept open the door for negotiation with Abdali's government. When the Marathas reached Ambala, he wrote to Prince Timur Shah

¹ *Miskin*, 67-8; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 100; *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 463; *Husain Shahi*, 43; *Siyār*, iii, 64; *Ghulam Ali*, i, 56; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 55b.

² Malhar's women came to Kurukashetar for a religious bath on the 9th January. They were attacked at Shahabad by a contingent of Abdul Samad Khan. The Marathas fought well, slew many Afghans and seized their horses. *Rajwade*, i, 85; *Sarkār*, i, 72.

³ *Kaghzat-i-Bhagwant Rai in Karam Singh*, 295-7.

and Jahan Khan Wazir that they had come from the Deccan quite unexpectedly like a bolt from the blue and that he was joining them out of policy (زمانہ سازی). As the servant of the Durrani he was writing to them to show that he was true to his salt. They should not delay even for an hour, but should advance at once against the Marathas.¹

A contemporary historian of Delhi has given the following account of the Maratha siege and capture of Sirhind in March, 1758 :—

"The Maratha troops beyond number (said to be two lakhs of men) from this side, and Adina Beg Khan collecting an army of the Sikhs, the worshippers of Nanak, who practised highway robbery in the province of the Panjab, from the other side of the Sutlej, came to Sirhind. Abdul Samad Khan, Abdali's Governor, finding himself unable to fight, shut himself up in the fort. The Maratha army and Adina Beg Khan laid siege to the place. After a few days Abdul Samad Khan and Jangbaz Khan fled away. The Marathas overtook and captured them.² As the Marathas and the Sikhs thought of nothing but plunder, they so thoroughly looted the inhabitants of Sirhind, high and low, that none, either male or female, had a cloth on his or her person left. They pulled down the houses and carried off the timber. They dug up floors for buried treasure and seized every thing they could lay their hands on."³

When news of the Maratha siege of Sirhind reached Jahan Khan, he at once collected all his troops outside Lahore in order to march to the assistance of Abdul Samad Khan. Fearing intrigue by the Mughlani Begam, whom he had mercilessly beaten, he imprisoned her in Timur's palace

¹ *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 55b.

² Cf. S. P. D., xxvii, 220; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 56a; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 10; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 133-4.

³ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 311; cf. *Ratan Singh*, 422-3.

inside the fort and appointed four bailiffs (*Sazawal*) to guard Miskin, who was forcibly taken in his train.¹ In eight days the army reached Batala. From there Jahan Khan despatched an advanced guard (*Qarawal*) of 2,000 soldiers under Yusaf Khan, *Darogha* of Timur's *Diwan Khana*, to scout for intelligence of the enemy in the Jullundur Doāb. Miskin also was included in this force. They reconnoitred the Doāb for forty days and then, learning of the fall of Sirhind and capture of Abdul Samad Khan, they withdrew to the Beas and joined Jahan Khan who had marched from Batala to that place. The Durrani Commander-in-Chief halted there for eight days, but, being informed that the Marathas had crossed the Sutlej and were advancing through the Doāb, he ordered the camp to be raised and retreated to Lahore.²

Jahan Khan informed Timur Shah of the danger of their position and advised him to retire to Afghanistan. Miskin, who was an eye-witness of the events at Lahore, gives a graphic picture of its evacuation. He says that Jahan Khan decided to leave the town about 9th April and set up his camp at Shahdara across the Ravi. He first conveyed there Timur's mother and his own women and relations. The other Durrani chiefs and the troops carried their baggage and property in cart-loads by repeated trips day and night. Meanwhile news was received that the invaders had crossed the Beas and that their advance-guard under Adina Beg Khan and Manaji Paygude lay encamped five or six *kos* from Lahore. That very day at noon Timur Shah crossed the river, followed by the Wazir. Their troops set fire to the goods which they could not carry. The eunuchs then mounted the women of Timur and Jahan Khan in litters on camels and horses, and the whole Afghan camp moved towards Kabul; while Miskin quietly brought the Mughlani Begam and her maiden daughter in a covered bullock cart to Lahore and installed them into their residential quarters. The

¹ *Miskin*, 171.

² *Ibid.*, 171-4.

masterless city was in utter confusion and terror and marauders of the town and its neighbourhood were busy plundering the defenceless people. Miskin did something to check this lawlessness by shutting all the gates at nightfall and patrolling the streets all night.¹

At about nine o'clock, the following morning, 10th April, 1758 (Baisakhi day) 500 Maratha horse and 100 of Khwajah Mirza's Mughalia troops under Ashur Ali Khan, whom Miskin knew well, arrived at the Delhi Gate of Lahore and showed him written orders from their chiefs. Miskin at once opened the gate and entrusted the city to their care. Khwajah Mirza Khan at the head of 1,000 Mughals and 10,000 Marathas arrived later. The same morning Timur had retired from Shahdara leaving several thousand soldiers in the rear in charge of Mir Hazar Khan. Khwajah Mirza Khan crossed the Ravi and fell upon Mir Hazar Khan, who fled after a little fighting. But with his men he was soon overtaken and captured.²

Jahan Khan halted at Sarai Kachchi, 36 miles north-west of Lahore, but was overtaken by Khwajah Mirza and numerous Maratha and Sikh troops who had joined him on the way. They lacked siege material and Jahan Khan, taking advantage of this fact, succeeded in slipping out of the Sarai under cover of darkness.³ They soon arrived at the Chenab below Wazirabad. Timur and Jahan Khan with their Durrani soldiers had hardly crossed the deep, wide, cold and swiftly running river, when the Marathas and the Sikhs came upon the scene. All the Uzbek, Qizalbash and Afghan soldiers with Timur's entire camp and baggage were on this side of the river and all fell an easy prey to the hordes of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 174-7; Cf. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 312; *Ratan Singh*, 424.

² *Ibid.*, 177-8.

³ It took place on the 10th April, which was the 3rd day of the new moon.

Marathas and Sikhs¹ who, after slaying most of Timur's soldiers, plundered the camp. The vast stores and treasure which Timur had accumulated during his occupation of the Panjab fell into their hands and were brought to Lahore by 20,000 Marathas and 10,000 Sikhs in several journeys. Those Afghans who had been left alive were driven in bonds and with gibes by the Sikhs to Amritsar, where they were compelled under blows and whips (بِزور و تعدی و ضرب و شلاق) to clean out all the rubbish with which Ahmad Shah and Jahan Khan had filled their tank.² Khwajah Mirza also enlisted many captives in his army.³

The Marathas abandoned the pursuit at the Chenab.⁴ Raghunath Rao and Adina Beg returned to Lahore on 11th April. Here the Marathas demanded the sums promised by Adina Beg Khan, who pleaded his inability to pay and begged to be excused. The Marathas were enraged and looted his camp. He quietly submitted and on the next day erected in the Shalamar Garden, at the cost of one lakh of rupees, a magnificent platform, on which Raghunath Rao was seated and given a public reception. The fountains of the garden were made to play with rose-water and the whole city was illuminated.⁵

Raghunath Rao did not wish to remain in the Panjab. It was far from the home of the Marathas and communication was difficult. The climate was unsuitable to them; the

¹ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 312; *Miskin*, 178-9.

² *S.P.D.*, xxviii, 218; *Miskin*, 179; *Tarikh-i-Ibrahim Khan* in *Elliot*, viii, 267; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 134; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 100-101; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 102a-b; *Husain Shahi*, 45; *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 463b; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 10; *Ahmad Shah*, 873; *Bakhtmal*, 81.

³ *Miskin*, 179. The disorder and tumult caused by the Marathas is known in the Panjab as *Maratha Gardi*.

⁴ Some Maratha Historians hold that the Marathas planted their banner on the walls of Attock, a statement which is not borne out by facts. The Marathas remained only on this side of the Chenab. Cf. *S.P.D.*, xxviii, 218.

⁵ *Khushwaqt Rai*, 91; *Ali-ud-din*, 118a.

rivers were not easily fordable in the rainy season ; they were isolated amidst a hostile population. As a frontier province the Panjab was also exposed to foreign attacks, the brunt of which would be borne by them, if they continued to occupy it. Moreover they were failing in making war pay for war.¹ They were harassed by Sikh depredations and thus they were not sure of a steady revenue. Their presence was also required in the Deccan to attack the Nizam. In view of all these circumstances they decided to place the Panjab in charge of Adina Beg Khan, who was an experienced administrator and could handle the Sikhs. Raghunath Rao therefore conferred the title of Nawab on Adina Beg Khan and leased the province to him for 75 lakhs of rupees a year. The Marathas then retired to Delhi.²

Adina Beg did not wish to stay in Lahore and fixed his headquarters at Batala. He appointed Khwajah Mirza Khan, his son-in-law, to the government of Lahore, with Khwajah Said Khan, the brother of the former, as his deputy ; while his old ally Sadiq Beg Khan was given the administration of Sirhind. Khwajah Mirza wished to be rid of the presence of the Mughlani Begam in Lahore, so Adina Beg took her with him to Batala.³

8. *Adina Beg Khan under Maratha Suzerainty* *April, 1758 to September, 1758*

By April, 1758, Adina Beg Khan had attained to his zenith, having brought all the Panjab from the Jumna to the Indus into subjection. He now set about the task of consolidation which was a paramount necessity at the time. He had been

¹ The Maratha Government owed a heavy debt of 88 lakhs to their army. Cf. Sinha's *Rise of the Sikh Power*, 51.

² *Delhi Chronicle*, 156 ; *S.P.D.*, xxviii, 218 ; *Nur-ud-din*, 21b ; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 101 ; *Siyār*, iii, 64 ; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 56a ; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 91 ; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 10 ; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 184 ; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 295b ; *Hugel*, 265-6.

³ *Miskin*, 179-80.

known in the Panjab for nearly twenty years. During this time he had impressed his personality not only on those territories which were directly governed by him, but also on other parts of the province. He had made a name for himself by his vigour, discipline and good government. Consequently the masses, who had been ground down under oppression, received him with relief. He took about a month and a half in organising the government and then turned his attention to the disturbing elements.

The Sikhs had had the satisfaction of taking revenge on the Afghans for Jahan Khan's slaughter of their co-religionists and desecration of their holy buildings at Amritsar. But they knew that they would not have things their own way during the regime of Adina Beg Khan, who was too clever for them. Adina Beg Khan was now well placed. The Delhi Government was too weak and distracted to challenge his supremacy, while the danger from the Durrani was for the time removed. The main consideration for him was the collection of 75 lakhs of rupees, which he had to pay to the Marathas; and this huge sum could not be collected till the Sikh disturbances were quelled and there was peace in the country, so that the peasants and the merchants could follow their avocations without any molestation. He therefore advised the Sikhs to cease their lawless activities. But they defied him, so he decided to subdue them.

The Viceroy had an army of 10,000 horse and foot. In order to suppress the Sikhs he enlisted a large number of additional troops and called upon the leading zamindars and chiefs in every part of the province to join him in eradicating the Sikh menace and restoring peace and order in the country.¹ The Gakhar, the Jhanjhua and the Gheba zamindars of the Sind Sagar Doāb; Chaudhari Rahmat Khan Waraich in the Chaj Doāb; Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu, Chaudhari Pir Muhammad Chatha, Izzat Bakhsh, Murad

¹ *Ahmad Shah*, 882-3.

Bakhsh Bhatti and other zamindars in the Rechna Doāb; Raja Ghamand Chand, Nidhan Singh Randhawa, Mirza Muhammad Anwar of Qadian, the Afghans of Kasur and Daulpur in the Bari Doāb; the Afghans of Jullundur and Alāwalpur, Rai Ibrahim of Kapurthala, the Rāis of Bankala, Dasuha, Khardunbala and Phagwara and the Rajputs of Rahon in the Jullundur Doāb, were all persuaded to join him in his campaign.¹

With these forces he steadily harried the Sikhs. On one occasion a strong body of Sikhs, in order to overawe Adina Beg, appeared in the neighbourhood of Adinanagar. He despatched Diwan Hira Mal and Guru Aqil Das of Jandiala against them. The battle, which was fiercely contested, took place near Qadian. The Diwan was slain, his troops dispersed and the whole of his baggage fell into the hands of the Sikhs. Adina Beg was chagrined at this and determined to take more stringent measures against them.² He issued strict orders to the *lambardars*, zamindars and other chiefs to join his forces and made them take an oath that they would attack the Sikhs and drive them away and that, wherever a Sikh was found, he was to be immediately put to death or captured. He also knew that the best hiding places of the Sikhs were the *Plas* jungles in the Manjha, so he aimed at destroying them.

That Adina Beg Khan succeeded in his design is shown by the testimony of Ahmad Shah of Batala, who wrote: "All the Panjab zamindars submitted to him and started devising plans for rooting out the Sikhs. Of all the zamindars of the Panjab the Randhawas showed the greatest readiness in destroying the Sikhs. Adina Beg ordered that in no district or *parganah* should Sikhs be allowed to live, they should either be captured or killed. Mirza Aziz Bakhsh was one of his most trusted nobles. Adina Beg appointed him to

¹ *Ali-ud-din*, 118b-119a.

² *Ibid.*, 119a. (Strangely enough the author says that both the Jassa Singhs fought on the side of Adina Beg Khan, which seems improbable.)

this duty at the head of several thousand horse. He also entrusted him with one¹ thousand carpenters with steel hatchets and axes for the purpose of cutting down and clearing away the jungles and forests where Sikhs used to seek shelter, so that no hiding place might exist for the people of this sect. The Sikhs were very much perturbed and relaxed their activities. Some fled away and hid themselves, but a body of them, bolder than the rest, showed the greatest gallantry and courage in going to Amritsar, quite ready to lay down their lives at the place of their Gurus. They took shelter in their mud fort near Amritsar called Ram Rauni. Nand Singh Sanghania was the leader of this body. Jassa Singh (Ramgarhia) with two of his brothers and other companions was also among the number, while Jai Singh Kanhiya and Amar Singh Kingra with their followers were likewise concealed in the fort. Mir Aziz, on hearing this, laid siege to the fort. The Sikhs, becoming desperate, fought with great bravery. Jai Singh Kanhiya and Jassa Singh made a sally and killed with matchlocks and arrows great numbers of their assailants. They then returned to the fort and shut the gates. Jai Singh, mounted on a swift and spirited mare, displayed remarkable gallantry by piercing into the midst of the enemy. Though matchlocks were aimed at him and he was attacked on all sides, yet none dared to come near him and he escaped within the fort. At last Mir Aziz succeeded one night in making a hole in the wall of the fort. The Sikhs then sallied out and many were killed or taken prisoners."²

The Sikhs now fled towards Malwa. This territory was in the Sirhind Division, where Sadiq Beg Khan was the Governor. No sooner had the Sikhs crossed the Sutlej than Sadiq Beg, under strict injunctions from Adina Beg Khan, engaged them in an action near the village Sanghulan. The Governor's swivels opened a heavy fire on them and created

¹ 4,000 carpenters according to MacGregor, i, 131.

² Ahmad Shah, 981-2; cf. Sohan Lal, Appendix to Vol. i, 18-9; MacGregor, i, 131-2.

havoc in their ranks. They were forced to flee, leaving their camp and baggage to be looted by the enemy. Hotly pursued by Sadiq's troops, they suddenly turned and, as the enemy had left their heavy guns behind, they fell an easy prey to the wrath of the Khalsa. But Sadiq Beg organized his troops who again opened fire, and the Sikhs again fled with their wounded comrades.¹

At this time when the whole country was ruined by the constant fight with the Sikhs, the rains in July and August entirely failed and as a consequence a severe famine broke out in the Panjab. "In the country of Manjha wheat was not available even at the rate of two seers to the rupee. Adina Beg Khan prevented the import of grain from Malwa, in order to starve out the Sikhs. Thus grain became still dearer. This measure hit the poor extremely hard and they left their homes migrating in all directions and with the will of God the Sikhs grew stronger daily."²

9. *Adina Beg Khan's Death, Character and Achievements*

Fortune favoured the Sikhs. After Muin, the only capable governor of the Panjab, was Adina Beg Khan. But luckily for the Sikhs, he held office only for five months. In the beginning of September he fell suddenly ill with colic and after suffering for a few days died³ at Batala on the 15th September, 1758.⁴ In accordance with his will his remains were interred by the members of his family at Khanpur in the Jullundur Doāb near Hoshiarpur. Adina Beg Khan

¹ Ratan Singh, 425-7; Gyan Singh, 734-5; Shamshir Khalsa, 97.

² Ali-ud-din, 119b.

³ Immediately after the death of Adina Beg Khan the Sikhs seized various territories, the details of which are given in Appendix I.

⁴ Miskin (182) present in Batala at the time of Adina Beg's death does not give the date of this event. A Marathi letter in S.P.D., ii, 96, dated 7th October, 1758, places it on the 12th Muharram (the 15th September, 1758). Farhat-un-Nazrin in Elliot, viii, 169, assigns 11th Muharram (the 14th September). This does not make much difference, as Adina Beg died about midnight between 11th and 12th Muharram. Khazan-i-Amira,

was not destined to see the autumn of life, but he was lucky even in his death, because the overwhelming forces of Ahmad Shah Abdali, which invaded India one year later and which shattered the Maratha power at the battle of Panipat, would have been first directed against him to punish him for driving Timur Shah from the Panjab.

Adina Beg Khan was bold, determined, cool, clever, prudent and quick in observation—an opportunist who in those chaotic times showed himself equal to any emergency. The greater part of his life was spent in toil, danger and anxiety, yet the ambitious spirit of this wary adventurer could not be crushed.¹ Sometimes he was cruel. The author of *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan* narrates that one day during a meal he expressed a desire for jam. A servant immediately went to a grocer at Jullundur to procure it. The shopkeeper pretended not to possess it. Adina Beg Khan then handed two rupees to another person for jam to be bought from the same man. He got it and brought it to Adina Beg, who felt so much enraged that he condemned the grocer to be boiled alive, as he boiled his jam. The man was only saved by the intercession of Adina's guests.²

Nobody can doubt his administrative ability. He governed well at a time when anarchy and confusion were prevailing not only in the Panjab, but also in the whole of the

101, mentions only Muharram, the name of the month. A contemporary Delhi Chronicler in *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 359, followed by *Sarkār*, ii, 77 says that his death took place on the 10th Safar (the 13th October).

The date of the last mentioned authority, however, seems to be wrong. If Adina Beg had died on the 13th October, how could the Marathi letter, dated 7th October, 1758, have stated this event? It appears probable that the news of Adina's death reached the author of *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani* on the 13th October, when the event was recorded by him in his diary. Ali-ud-din on folio 204b states that the Sikhs, out of revenge for the Khan's recent harshness to them, dug out his grave and burnt his dead body.

¹ Ghulam Ali, 34, 54, 56; Husain Shahi, i, 41.

² *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 58b-59a.

Mughal Empire.¹ His attention was mainly directed to revenue collection. He did not tolerate any default in this respect. Recalcitrance on the part of landholders was severely punished in order to teach a lesson to others. The villages of defaulters were often plundered and sometimes reduced to ashes. There was then no such thing as land settlement. The *amil*, or revenue collector, took what he could from the cultivators.

In the department of justice his procedure was no less summary. There were no rules of procedure. Muslim law was applied as a rule, though it could easily be dispensed with and the matter could be decided according to the whim of the Khan. An interesting incident illustrates his methods. One day in Jullundur city, he was passing before the house of a Qazi (Judge of Muslim Law), when he saw a quantity of ground poppy lying outside. He imposed a fine of Rs. 30,000 on the Qazi for breaking the law of the Holy Quran.²

In diplomacy and statesmanship he was much above the average. He successfully held the balance between the Delhi Emperor, Ahmad Shah Durrani, the Sikhs and the Marathas. He was always ready to intrigue with any power that appeared likely to prove useful to him. While the fortunes of other officials rose and fell with the change of government either at Delhi or Lahore, Adina Beg Khan

¹ *Miskin*, 167.

"آدینه بیگ خان قوجدار دوابه از وقت عبدالصمد خان پدر خان بهادر که بصفت عدالت موصوف بود محاللات دوابه را از قدیم بطریق استمرار بعهدہ تعهد برداشت خود میداشت و پیوسته صوبه دار را از حسن سلوک و نیکو خدمتی و ادائی زر سال بسال از خود راضی میساخت و در تمامی ملوک دوابه آنچنان طرح نظم و نسق انداخته بود که احدی در عمل اونایشی و مستغاثی برغمی آمد و نشانی از قطاع الطریقان در سرحد او ظاهر نمی گشت و دیگر از اوصاف فراست و فهمید او تا کنجا برنگارد که در امور عدالت کسی نظیر و عدیل او نبود"

² *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 59a.

enjoyed an almost permanent position. He played a cautious part throughout, particularly in his relations with the Lahore Viceroys. He remained obedient so long as the strong and just hand of Zakariya Khan was there. It was after his death that Adina Beg Khan began to display himself in his true colours. He owed allegiance to Yahiya Khan, but turned against him when Shahnawaz Khan invaded Lahore. Similarly, he persuaded Shahnawaz Khan to seek shelter with Ahmad Shah Durrani, and then informed the Delhi Wazir. When the Abdali invaded Lahore, Adina Beg brought about the fall of the young Governor. Having seen the weak resources of the invader with his own eyes, he readily yielded whatever support he could to the Delhi Wazir against Ahmad Shah Abdali in the battle of Manupur. He soon won the confidence of Muin-ul-Mulk, the new Viceroy of the Panjab, but played a tortuous part in the suppression of the Sikhs under his orders, and again during the third Durrani campaign. He openly showed consideration and regard to Muin's widow, the famous Mughlani Begam, but proved the chief instrument in her fall. Afterwards he outwardly submitted to Timur Shah, but privately opposed him and with the help of the Marathas and Sikhs drove him out of the Panjab.

He cleverly used gifts, arms, and favours and often employed a mixture of threat and promise, gratification and persecution, as it suited the circumstances, in order to amuse and subdue the Sikhs. He purchased their favour and service when too weak to coerce them, sought their help by conceding all their demands when he wished to regain the government; and persecuted them when he found himself well established and strong enough to do so.

A Muslim writer pays a just tribute to Adina Beg Khan in these words: "The Sikhs he amused, the Delhi Court he despised, the Afghans he bewildered, and the Marathas he effectually influenced in his favour to break the power of both the Sikhs and the Afghans and to obtain his own

independence."

Adina Beg Khan was clever also in keeping the powerful chiefs of the country under him always in good humour. Chaudhari Johri Mal of Phagwara, the hill rajas, Guru Barbhag Singh of Kartarpur, Raja Ghamand Chand Katoch, Rai Ibrahim Khan of Kapurthala and Raja Ranjit Dev were his great allies.¹

The first thing for an able and resolute man situated like Adina Beg Khan was evidently to maintain and augment his military strength, if he wished successfully to fish in those troubled waters. He possessed a good army, which was quite sufficient to meet the needs of his own government. In cases of emergency he recruited fresh troops temporarily and often hired the services of the Sikhs. His standing army consisted of 5,000 horse, 9,000 foot, 10,000 horse and foot of levies of the hill *jagirdars*, 400 messengers, and news writers, 5,000 grass cutters and 5,000 attendants.²

His income when he was the governor of the Jullundur Doab was 35 lakhs of rupees a year, excluding the gifts and tribute of the hill rajas. His expenditure was greater than his income. To overcome this difficulty he adopted a peculiar plan. He divided his army into two divisions. The services of one-half were retained and of the other half were disbanded. After the expiry of six months, the first half was allowed to go home and the second half was kept on active service. In this way he managed to cut down his military expenditure by half.³

In spite of this device, he was sometimes faced with a deficit. Once he was in great financial difficulty. He knew that there was a rich Gosain physician in the hills under his

¹ *Ibid.*, 57b.

² *Ibid.*, 56b. Miskin (167), places the strength of Adina Beg's army at 10,000 horse and foot. But this number was always varying.

³ *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 58a.

jurisdiction. Adina Beg Khan made a tour in that district and encamped near the village of the Gosain. He summoned him to his camp, pretended indisposition and offered him his hand to feel the pulse. The physician found the pulse beating soundly, which indicated no disease. The Gosain told him that he could have any prescription to his taste. Adina Beg informed the physician that he was suffering from inability to pay his troops, that the medicine for his illness was available in the physician's dispensary, and asked him to give it immediately. The Gosain, finding himself in confinement, offered him two dishes full of gold coins and thus secured his release.¹

The author of *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan* states that Adina Beg Khan did not marry and hence he had no issue. He further says that about the end of his life he married a beautiful lady who turned out to be of Sayyid caste. Adina Beg divorced her, though he provided her with handsome means to support.² This statement seems to be wrong. The contemporary author of *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, on p. 260, says that Adina Beg Khan married his daughter to Khwajah Mirza Khan. That Adina Beg Khan had a son is testified by a Marathi letter, which says that the Peshwa, on hearing the death of Adina Beg Khan, and in view of the anarchy prevailing in the Panjab, sent Dattaji Sindhia from Poona with a strong force to restore order and settle the government. He reached the Sutlej early in April, 1759, and lay encamped at Machhiwara for about three weeks. Adina Beg's son paid him a visit at this place, rendered submission, and paid him some of the arrears of the tribute of his father. He also advised Dattaji Sindhia to take over the administration of the Panjab directly into Maratha hands.³

Another contemporary writer, the author of *Khazan-i-Amira*, on p. 101, states that on Adina Beg's death the

¹ *Ibid.*, 58a-b.

² *Ibid.*, 61b-62a.

³ *S.P.D.*, ii, 100; *Sarkār*, ii, 78.

Marathas appointed Adina Beg's widow to the governorship of the Jullundur Doāb. Sayyid Ghulam Husain says that Adina Beg Khan left behind him a widow and a son, who fled to Delhi in October, 1759, on the occasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali's invasion.¹

¹ *Siyār*, iii, 64; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 101b

CHAPTER V

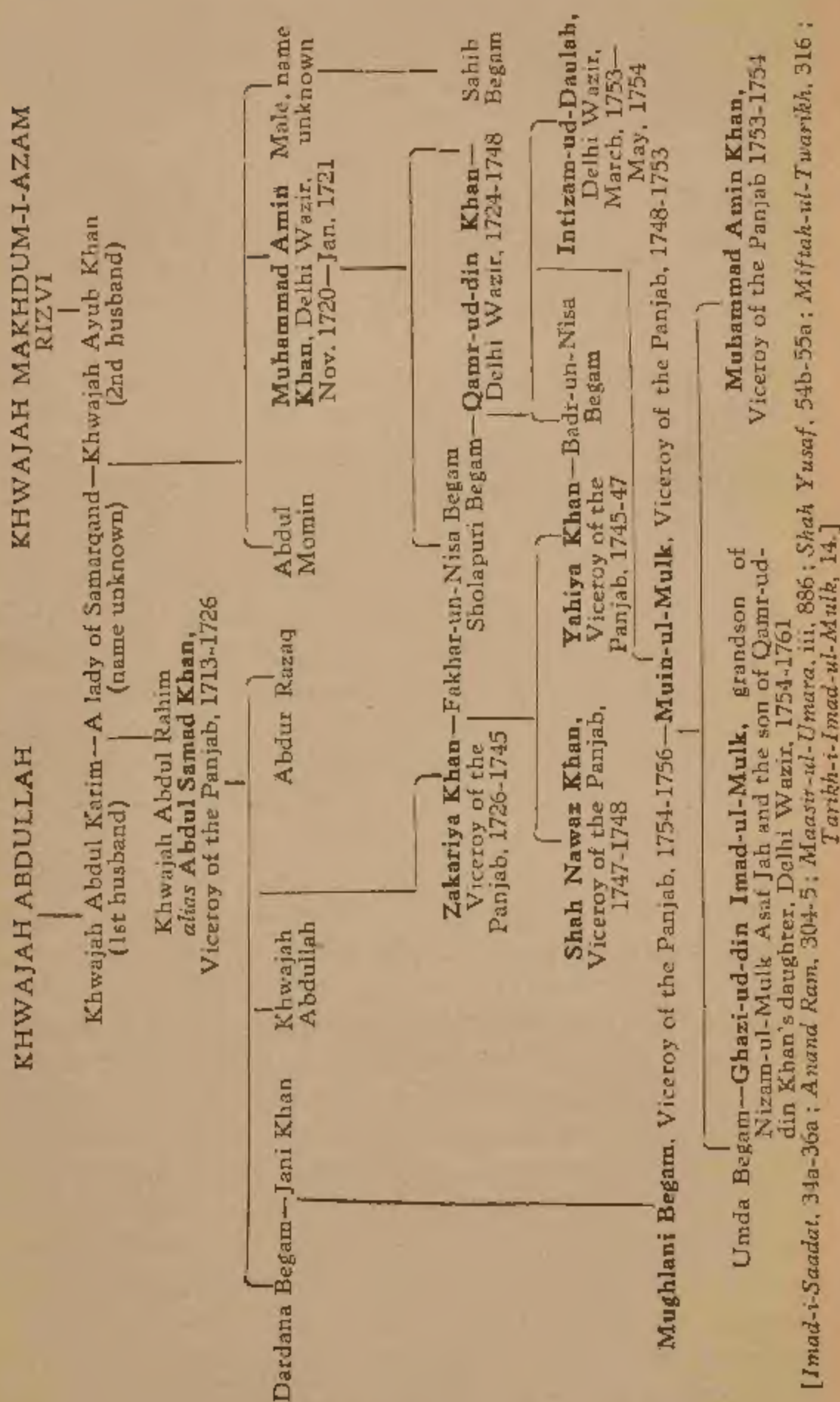
MUGHLANI BEGAM

THE VICEROY OF THE PANJAB

(Date of birth unknown — Died, 1779)

1. Introduction

MUGHLANI BEGAM belonged to the noblest Mughal family after Aurangzeb, which controlled the entire Mughal Empire for about thirty years, and ruled over the Panjab for about forty years. She was a lady of remarkable address and daring, and played such an important part in the politics of the Panjab from 1753 to 1757 that she was the pivot round which centred all the political affairs of the country. Her diplomacy was vigorous and effective, steady and sturdy, and she easily succeeded in achieving the object of her wishes. She possessed a powerful personality, and played a domineering role in all her dealings. If she was not implicitly obeyed, coaxed or cajoled she was terrible in her wrath. Ambitious as she was she loved power, which sometimes exceeded the bounds of propriety. Her strong sexual urge instead of proving a great asset developed into a low passion. This demoralizing pleasure resulted in the weakening of her ambition, and ultimately in the destruction of her executive ability. All this ruined not only her own honour, prestige, position and even wealth, but also that of her husband, the father-in-law and the Delhi Empire. Her story is a tale of woe which befell the Panjab and Delhi alike. Born with a silver spoon in her mouth she died a pauper, as the wife of her own household servant.



Mughlani Begam was the wife of the celebrated viceroy of the Panjab, Muin-ul-Mulk, (1748-53), popularly known as Mir Mannu and son of Nawab Qamr-ud-din Khan, the Prime Minister of Delhi, (1724-48). Her mother was Dardana Begam,¹ who was a sister of Khan Bahadur Zakariya Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab from 1726 to 1745, and daughter of Abdul Samad Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab from 1713 to 1726. Her father was Jani Khan, a leading noble at the Lahore Court.²

Her original name appears to have been Surayya Begam. In her husband's family she was given the name of Murad Begam in accordance with Indian custom. Popularly she was known as the Mughlani Begam.

2. *Death of Muin-ul-Mulk, 3rd November, 1753*

Muin-ul-Mulk, after his victory over Ahmad Shah Abdali in March, 1748, was appointed by the dying Muhammad Shah to the viceroyalty of the Panjab in view of his vigorous character which enabled him to check further inroads of the Afghan invader, and to crush the Sikhs, who had been steadily acquiring power. If Muhammad Shah had ever displayed any far-sighted statesmanship, it was in ordering Muin's appointment to the Panjab, the frontier province of the Mughal Empire, then liable to foreign peril and internal insecurity.

During the short period of Muin's office from 1748 to 1753, Ahmad Shah led two invasions, in 1749 and 1751. On these two occasions the Mughal Viceroy fought single-handed, without receiving any assistance whatsoever from his master at Delhi. The second invasion lasted six months, and ultimately Muin was defeated. But his pleasing personality, ready wit and frankness of manners saved him his life and office. Abdali confirmed him in his post, under his own suzerainty, and retired to Afghanistan.

¹ *Supra*, 66.

² Consult the genealogical table given at p. 110.

He was equally successful in checking the power of the Sikhs. He maintained a continuous campaign against them, and almost brought their lawless activities to an end. However, he suddenly died on the 3rd November, 1753, in the prime of life, under rather suspicious circumstances. The eye-witness, Miskin to whom we shall have again to refer frequently in these pages and who, at this time, was in attendance upon Muin, gives a remarkable description of his death, the revolt of the soldiery and the Begam's cleverness. He says: "Nawab Sahib (Muin-ul-Mulk) stayed for some time at village Tilakpur, on the bank of the river (Ravi) eight *kos* from Lahore. One day, at this place, in the month of Muharram he mounted a horse to go hunting. A little while before he had sent out Khwajah Mirza Khan, with a few other Mughalia Jamadars to repress the Sikhs. On his return from hunting he halted at a certain fort¹ which had been built by him. This fort was garrisoned by foot soldiers permanently stationed in it. He took his meal here at mid-day and had a siesta. He got up when about three hours of the day remained (about 3 p. m.). By chance his armlet of nine gems which always remained tied up on the arm broke off and the gems fell upon the floor. I brought this fact to his notice. He picked up the gems himself and made them over to an official. He then attended the call of nature, washed himself and said his afternoon prayer. Afterwards he put on a *vilayti* satin dress of green colour, mounted a horse and came out of the fort. Just then Khwajah Mirza presented himself before him with a few Sikh heads. He gave away prizes to the men who had cut off the heads and turned his attention towards his own troops."²

Muin-ul-Mulk put his horse to a gallop over an open field to join his troops which lay encamped at a short distance. All of a sudden he was taken ill. The doctors tried their best to bring about his recovery, but he died a little

¹ In the village Awan, 10 miles north-east of Lahore. *Ali-ud-din*, 112.

² *Miskin*, 87-8.

after midnight. The strange thing was that the colour of his body from face to chest had turned blue. This sad occurrence caused a heart-rending crying and bewailing in the whole army. At this time the Begam Sahiba entrusting the body of the Nawab to the custody of some reliable persons opened the doors of the treasury and kept herself busy for three days and nights in paying wages to the soldiers.¹ On the fourth day Bhikari Khan said that he would take the Nawab's corpse to Delhi, while the Begam insisted on taking it to Lahore. This led to a quarrel between them. Bhikari Khan thereupon appointed 500 of his men to guard the corpse and raised the standard of rebellion. The Begam was surprised at his conduct and she summoned all the chiefs before her. Accordingly, all the Indian *sardars* came and rendered submission to her; but the Mughalia troops had been seduced by Bhikari Khan to his side. The Begam therefore sent for Qasim Khan who was ordered to win over the Mughalia troops by any means he could. Qasim Khan said that he would bring all the captains (of the Mughalias) by promising them favours, but in his absence the corpse was to be guarded. The Begam posted me and my companions on this duty. On our arrival, Bhikari Khan's guard left the corpse and departed, and we took up our position there. Meanwhile Qasim Khan brought all the Mughals to wait upon the Begam; but Khwajah Mirza remained on the side of Bhikari Khan with 300 horsemen. The Begam then marched to Lahore (with the corpse) and entered the city."²

¹ "The soldiery rose in revolt against Muhammad Amin (Muin's son) and the Mughlani Begam, clamouring for their pay which was several months in arrears, and they did not allow her even to bury the dead body of the Nawab for two days. The Begam paid the soldiers from her own treasury three lakhs of rupees, and buried her husband's corpse on the third day at Ghora Nakhas, in the building of Abdul Rahim, son-in-law of Abdul Samad Khan." *Khushwaqt Rai*, 88.

² *Miskin*, 89-90. Cf. *Farah Bakhsh*, 33b; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 98; *Haqiqat*, 28; *Siyār*, iii, 50; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 89a; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 88; *Ahmad Shah*, 869; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 54b; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 156; *Sarkār*, i, 437. "He (Muin) was buried near Shahid Ganj

3. *The Baby-Viceroy provided for the Panjab, January, 1754*

The news of Muin's death reached Delhi on the 12th November¹ and Emperor Ahmad Shah on the 13th November appointed his three-year-old son Mahmud Khan the Viceroy of the two provinces of Lahore and Multan. The robes of honour were conferred on the Prince in the *Diwan-i-Khas*, and quite in the fitness of things, the three-year-old baby-warden of the north-western marches was provided with a two²-year-old deputy in the person of Muhammad Amin, son of late Muin-ul-Mulk, for whom a *khilat* and jewels were sent through Mir Jamil-ud-din Khan. The actual administration was, placed under the control of Mumin Khan, but the real control lay in the hands of the Begam.³

where the remains of his tomb may still be seen. In the reign of Sher Singh, the Sikhs in a moment of religious frenzy, dismantled the building, dug out the remains of Mir Manna and scattered them to the winds." Lahore District Gazetteer, 1883-4, p. 28.

¹ The court chronicler of Delhi recorded :—

"Muin always waged war with the Sikhs, the worshippers of Nanak. He was a valiant hero. His presence in Lahore, the frontier on that side of the country where there was the permanent problem of expelling Ahmad Abdali, was a great satisfaction. But there is no remedy against fate that such a famous and experienced viceroy should die in that province leaving it without a chief." *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 257-8

² *Haqiqat*, 28, states that Muin's son was only one year old.

³ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 257-8. The author further remarks :—

"عجب وقت و عجب زمانه کسی که تاج سلطنت هندوستان بر سر دارد و خطبه و سکه او در تمام ملک متکروسه راجع است چنان ضعف از بدکرداری امرايان ايران و توران"

"O the marvel! such weakness on the part of a sovereign who wore the crown of the realm of Hindustan and whose coins were current throughout the land!" Cf. *Sarkār*, i, 439.

It was "a plain proof of the miserable state of affairs at Delhi, that in such difficult times children and women were thought capable of being entrusted with places of such high importance." Baron Hugel's *Travels*, 265.

The Panjab had, however, formed a part of the Afghan kingdom since 1752; and the Viceroy derived his real power from Ahmad Shah Abdali and not from Ahmad Shah of Delhi. The Begam was not satisfied at receiving a formal nomination from Delhi; but, in order to retain her son in office she looked up to the Durrani Emperor for confirmation. The Deputy Mumin Khan was also not certain of retaining his office until he had received formal orders from the Afghan king. Both of them therefore offered their submission to Jahan Khan, the Governor of Peshawar, who then lay encamped at Hasan Abdal, requesting him to communicate with his master in Kandahar. As a result of these negotiations, Ahmad Shah Durrani appointed Muhammad Amin Khan Governor of the Panjab and Mumin Khan his Deputy about the end of January, 1754. This occasion was celebrated with great rejoicing.¹

4. Bhikari Khan Revolts, January, 1754

The petticoat government was not going to be a smooth sailing business. Bhikari Khan, surnamed Raushan-ud-daulah Rustam-i-Jang, was a Turkish General; and was "the dearest friend and most trusted factotum of Muin," and centre of all affairs in the province during his regime.² He had expected that he would be nominated the Deputy Governor. Being disappointed in his ambition, and seeing his rival Mumin Khan in power, he was naturally stung to fury. He approached the Delhi Wazir, Intizam-ud-daulah,

¹ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 282-3; *Siyār*, iii, 50; *Tarik-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 156; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 89a; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 98; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 295a; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 111.

Francklin in his *History of the Reign of Shah Aulum* states:—

"Mohim ool Moolk, the subahdar of Lahore, received a fall from his horse in hunting, which put an end to his life. His begum, a lady of great spirit, had interest enough amongst the chiefs of the Province to procure their nomination of her to the subahdaree in the place of her deceased husband." p. 5.

² *Siyār*, iii, 51. "مختار و مدارالمهام سرکار معین الملک بود" *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9; *Sarkār*, i, 439.

the brother of the Begam's husband, who was opposed to his sister-in-law. He granted the Deputy Governorship to Bhikari Khan under his own signatures, but the Mughlani Begam refused to recognise this order.¹

He aimed at seizing the government of the Panjab for himself by force, gave up attending the court, began collecting troops, mostly the turbulent Afghans of Kasur, mounted guns on the terrace of his house and openly defied the authority of the Begam.² In order to show that he wielded the real power, and to obtain wealth, he seized money from people in every possible way. With a view to perpetuate his memory, and probably to win over the favour of Muslims, he built at Lahore a mosque, known as *Sunahri Masjid* which stands as a monument of him to the present day.³

The masterful Begam could not tolerate the refractory attitude of such a powerful court noble, the success of whom would have nipped her ambition in the bud. She cunningly seduced the Mughalia captains of the army to her side by increasing their salary and conferring titles⁴ upon them. She even succeeded in breaking Khwajah Mirza Khan from Bhikari Khan's party by appointing him to the charge of Eminabad district. Thus a plot was hatched. Khwajah Mirza Khan suddenly entered Lahore and arrested Bhikari Khan. He was closely confined in the palace under the

¹ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 318, 337; *Sarkār*, ii, 52; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 111.

² *Miskin*, 91.

³ A poet wrote the following verse secretly on the gate of the mosque :—

”بنا کرد مسجد بهکاری خان بلشت
زر از زنده بگرفت و از مرده بخش

(Bhikari Khan built a mosque, by seizing money from the living and bricks from the dead.) The Nawab read the verse, fell into a rage, and ordered for the execution of the poet, on whom no search could lay hands. *Sohan Lal*, i, 139.

⁴ *Miskin*, 91.

guard of Khwajah Said Khan.¹

5. Qasim Khan's Revolt, C. March, 1754

Hardly was this menace over when another hazard threatened the Mughlani Begam. The utter weakness of the Delhi Empire and the rule of a woman so emboldened the Turki generals in Lahore that each of them regarded himself capable of carving out a principality, and maintaining it with the help of his tribesmen from Central Asia, and the Sikh soldiers of the Panjab. "They felt that their own rule would be worthier and more conducive to the safety and happiness of their retainers and subjects than the anarchy which prevailed in Lahore from Mughlani Begam's follies and vices."²

Bhikari Khan's revolt was followed by that of Qasim Khan, a Turk, who had enlisted himself as a soldier in the service of Muin. He rose to the position of a *Jamadar* and was the first to render valuable service to the Mughlani Begam against Bhikari Khan. Consequently, he was appointed by her to the *faujdari* of Patti *parganah* in Lahore district. Qasim Khan, who was lovingly called by the Mughlani Begam as her son, was provided with some pieces of cannon, 300 *jizairchis* who were Badakhshanis just arrived in the Panjab to seek their livelihood, 100 Turki cavalry, a few thousand horse and foot and several thousand rupees in cash at the time of his appointment.³

Qasim Khan also secured permission from the Begam to take Tahmas Khan Miskin in his train. Qasim Khan made

¹ Miskin, 91-2; Ghulam Ali, 26; Siyār, iii, 61; Husain Shahi, 34; Khazan-i-Amira, 99; Tarikh-i-Muzaffari, 89a; Khushwaqt Rai, 89; Tarikh-i-Ali, 131.

Haqiqat, 28, states that on the death of Muin-ul-Mulk two parties, Mughals and Hindustanis, came into existence in Lahore. The former revolted against the authority of the Begam, while the latter supported her.

² Sarkār, ii, 52.

³ Miskin, 93; Sarkār, ii, 52-3.

the first day's halt at Kot Lakhpat, two *kos* from Lahore, where Miskin joined him the next day. Just at this place began the *Faujdar's* encounters with the Sikhs who had been rising to power for some time past.¹ This account is reproduced here in the words of Miskin :—

" Qasim Khan left Lahore and encamped at the Garden of Lakhpat Rai, at a distance of two *kos*. The following day we also joined him at the Garden. He gave us a warm reception and presented to each as a mark of hospitality two gold coins to be spent at a dance in the night. By chance the same day an encounter with the Sikhs took place. The people insisted very much on his taking the initiative in attacking the wretches and putting them to the sword so that they might be extirpated ; but Qasim Khan did not agree. In the evening we came back and entered our camps. Just then the Sikhs came fighting from behind and reached near our camps. Then they returned and we passed the night (in suspense). On the following day we marched towards Patti and encamped at a Mughal village named Damomodaran at a distance of 12 *kos*. The headmen and people of the place came to pay their respects. All were captured and put under arrest ; while the fort and village were plundered, and the latter was besieged on the plea that the people were in league with the Sikhs. We lay encamped there for a month, and none of their women or children who had been imprisoned was set at liberty. The Sikhs attacked us daily both the times (morning and evening), fought and retired.

" After a few days Qasim Khan appointed one of his brothers named Alim Beg Khan, at the head of 1,000 horse and foot to lead an attack on a village where the Sikhs had assembled. The Sikhs got ready, and the fight began in which the perseverance of Alim Beg Khan gave way and he finding himself unequal to the task returned, giving up all his 300 Badakhshani foot soldiers to slaughter. On learn-

¹ *Ali-ud-din*, 117a.

ing this news, Qasim Khan mounted and started for the place. I also accompanied by two horsemen followed and joined him at a distance of two *kos*. I saw that the men were coming back running (from the field) and I found my fellow tribesmen, Muhammad Aqil, etc.; who had joined the attack safe and sound. We proceeded farther. I was astonished to see that only three Sikh horsemen were driving away the whole force. I galloped after them for one *kos*. I came across a large number of men lying dead on the way. But Muhammad Aqil dragged me back after a great persistence. We reached our troops safely. The next day I gave a piece of advice to Qasim Khan; but he did not agree and some hot words passed between us. Thereupon I came back to Lahore.

"After a few days he marched back from this place without achieving anything and having suffered from extreme hardships and difficulties. He halted on the bank of the river (Ravi), five *kos* from Lahore. I went to see him. He said, 'I have won over 8,000 Sikhs by friendly negotiations. I will soon seize Lahore, and then after enlisting more troops will take Delhi and will make myself *Padshah*.' He offered Chancellorship to a penniless Khwajah, the fugitive *ex-faujdar* of Saharanpur and the Imperial Paymaster Generalship to me, a lad of fifteen only. I told him that such a useless talk did not become him, and that he would repent of it in a few days. After five days he left the place and encamped outside the city (Lahore) near Shah Balawal. I again visited him. He had nothing left with him. He had uselessly distributed thousands of rupees worth of matchlocks, bows, other arms and materials and gifts to his Sikh allies, while his own troops clamoured for their pay. They besieged him and insulted him. The same day they cut off his tent ropes, dragged him to the Begam who confined him within her palace enclosure and kept him under strict guard."¹

¹ *Miskin*, 94-6.

6. *Muhammad Amin Khan Dies, May, 1754*

The Begam had succeeded in removing the threat of civil war, but another catastrophe soon befell her. The baby-governor Muhammad Amin Khan died early in May, displaying the same symptoms of poisoning as his father.¹ The Begam at once proclaimed herself the head of the government of the province. She despatched her agents to Kandahar as well as to Delhi to procure her acknowledgment to the governorship. Her only probable opponent to her appointment was Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir to whom her daughter had been betrothed by Muin. Her messengers reached there at the time when Emperor Ahmad Shah was busy in his struggle with Imad-ul-Mulk, and so he could not pay any attention to the Panjab affairs. His successor Alamgir II appointed Mumin Khan the Governor of the Panjab on the 25th October, 1754, but his authority was negated by the Begam in whose hands lay all the strings of power.²

7. *Misgovernment of the Begam*

Mughlani Begam securely established herself in the seat of the provincial government for the time being, but those were not the times when a woman-viceroy could display much activity in controlling the affairs of administration. The reasons were that the Turkish nobles could not bear the idea of a woman's rule;³ and, in the second place, the whole province was in a state of utter chaos and confusion. Eunuchs were the only medium through whom Mughlani Begam conducted the state affairs, and therefore it became to all intents and purposes eunuchs' rule at

¹ This news reached Delhi on the 2nd June, 1754. *Delhi Chronicle*, 92.

² *Miskin*, 93-7; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 111.

³ *Maasir-ul-Umara*, i, 360. Cf. *Miskin*, 108. Even her great ally and maternal uncle hesitated to accept her authority.

”گفته خواجه سرايان هر كجا شد پيش رفت
كي بر آيد كام مردان زان قريق فامراد“

Lahore.¹ The *Diwan*, *Bakhshi* and other high officials first went in the morning to Mumin Khan to offer their *salaams* and then all including the Deputy proceeded to the *deorhi* (portico) of the Begam's palace, and received her orders through eunuchs. Three eunuchs—Mian Kushfaham, Mian Arjmand and Mian Mahabbat—took the lead in these discussions, and became her chief confidants in all affairs, great and small. Matters were made worse by the fact that these eunuchs seldom agreed among themselves, and constantly quarrelled.²

The result was that the administration fell into disorder, and disturbances raised their head everywhere. The government of the country had visibly broken up. Multan was under a separate governor of Ahmad Shah Abdali. The *Chahār Mahāl* of Gujrat, Aurangabad, Pasrur and Sialkot were ruled over by Rustam Khan directly appointed by the Durrani. The northern districts of Amritsar, Batala, Kalanaur and Pathankot were the strongholds of the Sikhs. Adina Beg Khan was supreme in the Jullundur Doab and he acknowledged no authority. The country between the Sutlej and the Jumna was under the Delhi Emperor. The only districts which owed allegiance to the Lahore Governor were situated in its close neighbourhood, and these were about to be occupied by various Mughalia captains.³

8. Profligacy of the Begam

No sooner did the Begam find herself safely installed in the office of the provincial viceroy than she began to betray

¹ *Miskin*, 93.

² *Ibid.*, 98. "Owing to the widow regent's simplicity each officer represented affairs to her in a different way. Eunuchs and slaves ruled the State. The peasants were in more ruinous condition than before. The administration fell into disorder and decay and the number of Sikhs increased in consequence." *Siyaar*, iii, 51; *Sarkār*, i, 440.

³ *Khushwaqt Rai*, 89.

the commonest of human frailties. The Begam became notorious for loose character. In this conduct she was probably led by the shameless examples of the highest dignitaries in the Delhi court as well as by her own highly developed sex nature. The talk of her clandestine love affair with Ghazi Beg Khan Bakhshi was on the lips of every body, big and small, in Lahore.¹ Her name was connected with the young lad Miskin, our valuable informant, by an aunt of Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir, who intended to kill the page; but Miskin escaped through the Begam's assistance.² It was not a false charge because the Begam really loved Miskin and tried her best to seduce him, by offering temptations of costly gifts, and keeping him in her bed-chamber during whole nights, the full story of which is described by Miskin himself in the pages of his manuscript.³ Some other contemporary writers also testify to this fact.⁴

9. *Revolt of Khwajah Mirza Khan, C. December, 1754*

The courtiers of Lahore were not going to tolerate the loose morals of a woman so highly placed in life. Fresh revolts broke out against the Begam's authority.

Khawajah Mirza Khan, an Uzbek chief, had possessed complete confidence of his late master Muin-ul-Mulk and was often given independent charge of expeditions against the Sikhs. He commanded a personal contingent of 300⁵

¹ *Miskin*, 99.

² *Ibid.*, 122.

³ *Cf. Ibid.*, 99, 122, 159-60, 230-1.

”بعضی شب تا علی الصبح ہم از حضور بیگم صاحبہ رهاشی نمی شد بلکہ اکثر بعض سخنیہا کہ عقل هرگز قبول نکند ہر زبان سے آوردند“

⁴ Ghulam Ali of Lahore, 26; Shiv Prashad, 39b; *Khazan i-Amira*, 98-9.

⁵ Five or six thousand fresh Turki troops had joined him from his homeland under one of his brothers Khwajah Qazi. *Miskin*, 105.

Uzbaks besides many others. On Muin's death he had joined the party of Bhikari Khan, but was soon enticed by the imperious Begam who had conferred upon him the *faujdari* of Eminabad with the title of *Khan*. Here the Khwajah asserted his personality, crushed all opposition, "chastized the Sikhs in several engagements,"¹ and established peace and order in his territory.

The captive Bhikari Khan entered into communication with Khwajah Muhammad Said Khan, the brother of Khwajah Mirza, and decided that "as a fissure had appeared in the family honour of the late Nawab,"² the best course for them was to call Khwajah Mirza Khan to take over charge of the administration of the province.

Consequently he came to Lahore, won over the Begam's soldiers already corrupted by Khwajah Said, confined her in another house and emptied her palace of all cash, jewels, ornaments, clothes and other things with the result that "there was not a piece of furniture or any other article in the house which was not plundered."³ On the following morning the *Purbia* (Oudh) foot soldiers, about seven or eight thousand in number, attacked the Mirza's troops, but they were repulsed after some struggle. The Mughlani Begam was removed from her official residence and confined in her mother's house.⁴ Khwajah Mirza utterly failed in effectively controlling the administration, in securing sufficient revenues, and in checking the forces of disruption

¹ *Ibid.*, 102.

² *Ibid.*, 99. "(در تور توأب مغفور رخنه پدید آمد)"

³ *Ibid.*, 103.

Khwajah Mirza brought the Begam to her palace and appointed his own soldiers at the gate. "At that time I (Miskin), and Muhammad Aqil dressed in a coat of arms went to the portico of the Begam and conveyed an oral message through a eunuch that Khwajah Mirza and Bhikari Khan were sitting together, and if they were ordered they would kill both of them instantly with one stroke." But they were forbidden to carry out such a plan.

⁴ *Ibid.*

among his fellow tribesmen,¹ and consequently the local chiefs and rebels became quite independent in their own sphere of activity.² He, however, took effective measures in punishing the Sikhs. His brother Khwajah Qazi with his 6,000 troops was despatched after them and defeated them.³

10. *Bhikari Khan is put to Death, April, 1755*

The Mughlani Begam finding herself ousted from authority and a captive burned with rage against Khwajah Mirza and Bhikari Khan, the real instruments of her ruin. She cleverly managed to depute her ambassador to the court of Kandahar. Khwajah Abdullah Khan, her mother's brother and the younger son of the former Viceroy Abdul Samad Khan and the younger brother of the late Nawab Zakariya Khan, went to Ahmad Shah Abdali's court, complained against the Mughalia nobles who had been responsible for all the misrule, tumult and disorder, in the Panjab since Muin's death and obtained an order on Aman Khan, brother of Jahan Khan the Durrani Governor of Peshawar, to march to Lahore at the head of 10,000 troops and restore the Begam to authority. Khwajah Mirza was easily overpowered and imprisoned with most of his nobles. Lahore was given over to plunder and was thoroughly sacked.⁴ The Begam

¹ *Ibid.*, 104. "Khwajah Mirza Khan declared himself Nawab (*Subahdar*), put a studded aigrette on his head and granted titles of *Khan* and *khilats* to his comrades, the Mughal captains. Ashur Ali Khan and even Bhikari Khan came to offer *salaams* to Khawjah Mirza after eight days. The other Mughalia *sardars*, such as Bala Bash Khan, Farman Beg Khan, Ibrahim Quli Khan, Ismail Khan and Haji Khan Jar and others, who had been his equals in rank and position, and quite independent of each other caring nothing for any body also came to pay their respects, and produced all the documents before him for orders and signature. After a few days their mutual jealousy and enmity began to reappear. In spite of their repeated promises of friendship and unity at dinners and entertainments of dancing-girls they soon gave way to disagreement."

² Cf. *Sarkār*, ii, 56.

³ *Miskin*, (present in these campaigns), 105.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 107. About forty lakhs of rupees were obtained in this way. *Khushwaqt Rai*, 89.

was installed on the *gaddi* and Khwajah Abdullah was appointed her deputy.

Bhikari Khan was made over to the Mughlani Begam. He was bound hand and foot and was produced before the Begam. Under her orders he was severely beaten with shoes and cudgels and the eunuchs striking him blow after blow cried out, "The blood of the two (Muin and Amin) is on you. This is your due recompense for it."¹ When he was about to faint, he was wounded in two places with a dagger by the Begam personally. At last he expired² under the operation and his corpse was thrown outside the city into a ditch.³

11. Khwajah Abdullah ousts the Begam, C. July, 1755

Aman Khan had carried away the turbulent Mughalia nobles including Khwajah Mirza to Kandahar. Khwajah Abdullah finding no rival in Lahore, employed 15 to 20 thousand horse and foot and assumed an independent attitude. The Begam could not be thwarted so easily and she seduced Abdullah's soldiery on promise of rewards and higher pay. Abdullah, however, with the help of Mir Mumin and the Durrani agent Hadi Khan, succeeded in confining the Begam to her mother's house and thus became the undisputed master of Lahore. He badly needed funds to keep

¹ *Miskin*, 107.

² James Browne in his *History of the Origin and Progress of the Sicks* on p. 18 writes :—

"In the year of the Hegira 1165, Moin-ul-Mullock died, and his widow appointed one Beckery Khan, to manage the government of her deceased husband, as Naib (or deputy) on her part; but having detected him in a design to seize on her person, and usurp the government himself, she caused him to be strangled."

³ *Miskin*, 106-8; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sant*, 112; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 99; *Haqiqat*, 28; *Siyār*, ii, 51; *Ghulam Ali*, (Bhikari Khan's son and the author of *Shah Alam Namah*), 26; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 89a; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 89; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 131; *Sohan Lal*, i, 139; *Ali-ud-din*, 113a; *Sarkār*, ii, 56-7.

his soldiery satisfied. The treasury did not bring him much and therefore he resorted to tyranny and oppression of all sorts in exacting money from the people. "Closing the gates of the city, he plundered much from the inhabitants of Lahore both Hindus and Muslims, on the plea of their having been associates of Bhikari Khan, and slew many people. Vast numbers were ruined. Grain and other stuffs became very dear."¹

12. *Adina Beg Khan Captures Lahore, C. September, 1755*

In the meantime Adina Beg Khan, the Governor of the Jullundur Doab, had firmly established himself in that territory, and owed allegiance neither to Lahore Government under which he was politically placed, nor to the Delhi sovereign. He had recently (April, 1755) defeated Qutb Khan Rohilla who had revolted against the Delhi Emperor and had seized upon the Sirhind province, and thus Adina Beg had become the supreme master of the country situated between the Beas and the Jumna.²

Lahore also offered a favourable opportunity and Adina Beg was not the man to let it slip. The provincial capital was in the throes of revolution. Khwajah Abdullah's rule was hated by all. So Adina Beg led his army against Lahore. Khwajah Abdullah fled away to Sind without offering any resistance. Adina Beg captured the capital, appointed Sadiq Beg Khan his deputy, and himself returned to Jullundur.³

13. *Mughlani Begam is made Captive by the Delhi Wazir
March, 1756*

Mughlani Begam could not bear the loss of her political

¹ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 112; *Miskin*, 109-10; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 99; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 89a; *Sohan Lal*, i, 139-40; *Sarkār*, ii, 57-8.

² For details see *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 76-88; *Delhi Chronicle*, 122; *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 461a; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 98b-99a; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 56b-57a.

³ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 124.

power. She was very resourceful. Feeling the need for immediate assistance she turned her attention to the all-powerful Delhi Wazir Imad-ul-Mulk, who had been betrothed to her daughter in Muin's lifetime. She wrote to him: "Ahmad Shah Durrani helped me when oppressed from Kandahar. I have again fallen into misfortune. Please come and help me. Otherwise at least send a force in any way you can, and summon my daughter who is betrothed to you."¹

Imad-ul-Mulk welcomed this opportunity of having an occasion to interfere in the Panjab affairs and settle matters in his own way. He knew that the Begam was mismanaging the affairs. She was also known for having fallen into evil course of life.² The Wazir was facing financial breakdown, and badly needed money which he thought might be procurable in Lahore. He also wanted to regain the lost province for the empire. Although he did not care much for the Begam's daughter, as he was already married to the greatest beauty of the day, Ganna Begam;³ but he had no objection to make a little addition in his harem without

¹ *Miskin*, 113-4.

² "سرداران مغلیہ از لاہور گریختہ می آمدند شکایت تعدی و بے اعتدالی بیگم در جناب نواب وزیر اعظم غازی الدین خان بہادر زاد اقبالہ می نمودند و عرض دادند کہ ناموس مغلیہ برباد میدہد و خواہد کہ نسبت دختر خود بہ پسر احمد شاہ درائی کند"

Haqiqat, 28-9.

³ Ganna Begam was the daughter of Ali Quli Khan, a *seven-hazāri* noble in the court of Alamgir II. Ganna's unrivalled beauty, poetical talents and artistic accomplishments had made her famous in this country. Her hand was sought by the greatest grandees, Shuja-ud-daulah, the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, Imad-ul-Mulk, the grand Wazir of Delhi, and Raja Jawahir Singh of Bharatpur, all tried to secure her. She was persuaded, however, to marry Imad. This unhappy choice ruined her life. She fell under the wrath of the Mughlani Begam, whose daughter had been betrothed to Imad. Ahmad Shah Abdali in 1757 handed over Ganna to Mughlani Begam, who reduced her to a maid-servant. Cf. *Sarkār*, ii, 108-9.

taking upon himself the conjugal responsibilities.¹

The Wazir did not like to rouse alarm, and pretending to go on a hunting expedition in the jungles of Hansi and Hissar left Delhi on the 15th January, 1756 in the company of Prince Ali Gauhar with a force of ten thousand. On the 7th February, 1756, he reached Sirhind where his further progress was stopped by Adina Beg Khan who wrote to him: "Please stay at Sirhind. Send to me a eunuch with two or three thousand troops. I will add my own contingent to them, and will secure you possession of Lahore easily by a stratagem. There is also a large army in Lahore. If you go there, it may cause tumult and a rising."²

Accordingly, Imad-ul-Mulk sent the eunuch Nasim Khan at the head of a few thousand troops, and himself stayed at Machhiwara³ on the bank of the Sutlej. "Adina Beg Khan despatched Sadiq Beg Khan with 10,000 troops of his own to help the Wazir, and all these soldiers combined arrived at Lahore in a few days. They were housed at Shah Ganj. From here they rode out in full splendour and pomp to the Begam's residence to offer their *salaams*. On returning they paid a visit of courtesy to Khwajah Abdullah Khan. The Khwajah, in accordance with the court etiquette, conferred upon him (Sadiq Beg Khan, the leader of the expedition) a *khilat* and afterwards came to the troops. Nawab Abdullah Khan guessed that in a day or two he would be captured and being frightened left the city the same night and fled away to Jammu hills."⁴

On the following day the Mughlani Begam triumphantly

¹ *Ghulam Ali*, 25; *Ali-ud-din*, 113a; *Khair-ud-din's Ibrat Namah* in *Elliot*, viii, 240.

² *Miskin*, 114; *Delhi Chronicle*, 130; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 52; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 98b; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, iii, 890.

³ Machhiwara is a town situated on the route from Ludhiana to Ropar 22 miles east of the former place.

⁴ *Miskin*, 114; cf. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 151.

occupied her official residence and took the reins in her hands once more. The Wazir's letter was delivered to her in which he had requested the Begam to send him her daughter. The Begam was pleased with the request. She took nearly a month in making preparations for the departure of her daughter Umda Begam, "the pearl of unrivalled beauty and accomplishments,"¹ and sent her with a suitable dowry in jewels and cash accompanied by a full household of eunuchs, tents and other necessary requisites at the head of an escort of 3,000 troops. The bride arrived at the camp of the Wazir on the 4th March, 1756.²

The next step of the Wazir was to despatch Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan, Nisar Muhammad Khan Sher-i-Jang, Hakim Ibadullah Khan and Khwajah Saadat Yab Khan to Adina Beg in order to fetch the Begam also to his camp. The Wazir did not like that she being a Muslim woman should do the work of man. Moreover, she was the wife of his mother's brother³ besides being his prospective mother-in-law and he was of opinion that the loss of her character was due to her unbridled freedom at Lahore. Above all he coveted her wealth.⁴

These officers, strengthened by Adina's troops, covered the distance of 120 miles in one day and night, hardly stopping to take breath and reached Lahore at daybreak, when the Mughlani Begam was fast asleep, unsuspecting of what lay in store for her. They sent eunuchs to wake her and putting her in a palankeen they carried her to their camp outside Lahore and confiscated all her treasure and property. She reached the Wazir's camp on the 28th March, 1756. The Wazir came to receive her. Hurt by the treatment she had received, she let loose her tongue and in a loud voice

¹ *Sohan Lal*, i, 140.

² *Miskin*, 114-6 and 119; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 130-1; *Shakir*, 79-80; *Siyār*, iii, 53; *Delhi Chronicle*, 131; *Sarkār*, ii, 60.

³ *Tarikh-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*, 14.

⁴ *Ghulam Ali*, 25.

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³ Machhiwara is a town situated on the route from Ludhiana to Ropar 22 miles east of the former place.

⁴ *Miskin*, 114; cf. *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 151.

brought with him Khwajah Mirza and other Mughalia *Jamadars* retained as captives in the Durrani court.¹ "Adina Beg Khan, *faujdar* of the Doāb had entered into an agreement with Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan that in case of an emergency he would supply him with 10 or 15 thousand troops and their pay. At the time of the approach of Durrani troops the Sayyid sought help from the Khan who replied that in view of the large Durrani army it was advisable for him to retire to the Doāb where both of them would act with mutual consultation. The Nawab followed his advice and left the place. I, Miskin, also left all my goods and property in Lahore and taking women only accompanied him."²

All the citizens of Lahore fled away with or without porters in company with Jamil and a great calamity (عجب حادثہ) befell the city.³ The invaders entered Lahore on the 4th October, 1756. Khwajah Abdullah Khan was given charge of the province with Khwajah Mirza as his assistant. The city was thoroughly plundered and laid waste by the Afghans.⁴ But the new chiefs were not allowed to enjoy undisturbed possession of the Lahore province. They were constantly harassed by the Sikhs, and regular expeditions were sent after them under the leadership of Khwajah Mirza. When Miskin returned from Jullundur to Lahore to take his goods and property he found Khwajah Mirza out on one of such expeditions to Eminabad.⁵

15. Ahmad Shah Durrani is Invited to Invade India

Constant reports of the utter wretchedness of the Delhi government were reaching Ahmad Shah Durrani and from many high authorities such as Emperor Alamgir II and Najib-

¹ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 151-2.

² *Miskin*, 125.

³ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 152.

⁴ *Sarkār*, ii, 63.

⁵ *Miskin*, 126.

reviled and abused the Wazir, saying, "This conduct of yours will bring distress upon the realm, destruction to Delhi and disgrace to the nobles and the state. Ahmad Shah Durrani will soon avenge this disgraceful act and punish you."¹ The Wazir gave the government of Lahore and Multan to Adina Beg Khan on a tribute of thirty lakhs a year, appointed Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan to Lahore as Adina's assistant and afterwards he returned to the imperial capital on the 9th May, 1756.²

14. *Khwajah Abdullah Installed in Lahore, 4th October, 1756*

Sayyid Jamil-ud-din was assigned 5,000 troops by Adina Beg Khan on paper, but the actual muster was much lower. The Sayyid though circumscribed by such a small contingent and an empty treasure tried his best to establish peace and order in the country.³ "He sought to lower the unfairly enhanced price of grain by publicly flogging the headman of the market."⁴ He was a man of courage and spirit. "Once or twice I saw with my own eyes," says Miskin, "that he went on a hunting expedition towards village Sharaqpur where ten or fifteen thousand Sikhs appeared and fell on him. He commanded only about one thousand horse and foot. With this small number he stuck fast to his ground and repelled the Sikhs."⁵

His rule, however, was short-lived. Khwajah Abdullah Khan went from Jammu to Kandahar and came back with a strong force of Abdali troops under Jangbaz Khan who also

¹ *Khair-ud-din*, 42.

² *Miskin*, 120-4; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 131; *Delhi Chronicle*, 131-2; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 52; *Maasir-ul-Umara*, iii, 89-91; *Siyar*, iii, 53; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 98b; *Ghulam Ali*, 26-7; *Shiv Prashad*, 33b; *Shakir*, 79-80; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 71a-b; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 156; *Bakhtmal*, 76; *Sohan Lal*, i, 139-40; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 51; *Ali-ud-din*, 113a-114a; *Sarkar*, ii, 60-1.

³ Cf. *Bakhtmal*, 76; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 90; *Sohan Lal*, i, 140.

⁴ *Sarkar*, ii, 61.

⁵ *Miskin*, 124.

taking refuge in the waterless tract of Hansi and Hissar. Jahan Khan reached the Jullundur Doāb without any opposition and occupied the country up to the Sutlej. "From Lahore to Sirhind not a village was left tenanted; all men, high and low, having fled away in all directions."¹

Adina Beg Khan did not find himself towards Hissar side quite safe from the Durrani danger. After some time he escaped to the Kangra Hills and took shelter in a hill called Khali Balwan, about 70 miles north-west of Hoshiarpur.²

16. *Begam's Doings during the Abdali's Invasion,
January-April, 1757*

In the course of all his previous incursions the Durrani had experienced active opposition from the Panjab Subahdar and the efforts of the Delhi court in checking his advance. On this occasion, however, the empire had gone to such rack and ruin that no one tried to impede his march and not a single soldier came forward to oppose him till he easily found himself in the imperial capital where everybody lay at his mercy. "The Wazir, who wielded the empire without a sharer in his power, took no step to meet the danger; he refused to go to Sarhind to oppose the invasion, but consulted *darvishes* how to overcome the enemy through their prayers without fighting."³ The only measure that he took was to send Mughlani Begam from Delhi to meet the Durrani and pacify his anger.⁴ She started at the head

¹ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 161-2, 165, 170. Cf. *Khazan-i-Amira*, 52; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 100b-101a; *Khair-ud-din*, 42; *Siyār*, iii, 53; *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 54b; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 51-2; *Khushwaqat Rai*, 90; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 131-2; *Ibrat Miqul*, ii, 72a; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 295a; *Sarkar*, ii, 63-4.

² Cf. Forster, i, 317.

³ *Sarkār*, ii, 86.

⁴ *Waqa-i-Shah Alam Sani* on p. 136, records this event thus:—

[10th January, 1757] "دوشنبه ۱۸ ربیع الاول بوقت نیم شب
بیگم زوجه معین الملک برائے سوال جواب مصالحت نزد ابدالی رخصت
شدہ بادشاہزادہ عالی گوہر و وزیر الممالک برائی رخصت بیگم زوجه
مذکور کا کثرہ محلدار خان رفتند"

reviled and abused the Wazir, saying, "This conduct of yours will bring distress upon the realm, destruction to Delhi and disgrace to the nobles and the state. Ahmad Shah Durrani will soon avenge this disgraceful act and punish you."¹ The Wazir gave the government of Lahore and Multan to Adina Beg Khan on a tribute of thirty lakhs a year, appointed Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan to Lahore as Adina's assistant and afterwards he returned to the imperial capital on the 9th May, 1756.²

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³ Cf. *Bakhtmal*, 76; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 90; *Sohan Lal*, i, 140.

⁴ *Sarkar*, ii, 61.

⁵ *Miskin*, 124.

Afterwards Ahmad Shah ordered that from every house in the city rich and poor alike without any exception a regular levy should be charged. The whole city was divided into wards and Afghan troops were posted everywhere. Torture of all kinds was applied and a large number of men died under the operation, many having poisoned and drowned themselves. Beating and slaying of men and women remained the order of the day in Delhi for a month (4th February to 5th March). The Abdali king married his son Timur Shah to Zohra Begam, the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II, and sent him back to the Panjab with all the booty thus collected to convey it to Afghanistan. He himself forcibly took into wedlock Hazrat Begam, a 16-year-old daughter of late Muhammad Shah.¹

On the 20th February, Mughlani Begam presented Ahmad Shah Abdali with costly jewels placed in several trays as her personal offering. The Afghan king was greatly delighted, and at once exclaimed: "Hitherto I had styled you my daughter, but from to-day I shall call you my son and give you the title of *Sultan Mirza*." He immediately conferred upon her his own tiara (*kulah*) with its ornaments of gold and jewels (*jigha*), cloak (*pairhan*) and aigrette, and other vestments that he was then wearing.²

Finding the Durrani so pleased with her, she requested him to restore his favour to Imad-ul-Mulk, and to reinstate him in the office of the Wazir. The Abdali replied, "I can appoint him the chief minister, but I understand that he has not yet married your daughter." The Begam told him that the ceremony was going to be performed that night. Ahmad

بالکل از قسم نقود و جواهر در سرکار شاهی ضبط کذا نمید و شوله پوری
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به تکلیف تمام زر و جواهر بمعرض وصول آورده بنخراشه شاهی رسانید
و رو بروی سردار جهان خان خاندان نشستہ عرض احوال سکندہ شهر

Husain Shahi, 37. "می نمود"

¹ Sarkār, ii, 101-2.

² Miskin, 138.

ud-daulah he received invitations to invade India. The Mughlani Begam who had been ousted from her authority in the Panjab by the Delhi Wazir wrote to him: "I am ruined by the treachery of Mir Mumin Khan, Adina Beg Khan and Sayyid Jamil-ud-din Khan. Goods and cash worth crores of rupees lie buried to my knowledge in the palace of my late father-in-law (Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan), besides heaps of gold and silver stored inside the ceiling. Complete disagreement exists among the Emperor Alamgir II, his wazirs and nobles. If you invade India this time, the Indian Empire with all its riches of crores will fall into your hands without any trouble."¹

Ahmad Shah Abdali readily embraced the occasion that promised him such evident advantages. He sent his envoy, Qalandar Beg Khan, in advance to the court of Delhi demanding satisfaction against the Wazir's conduct in encroaching upon his province of Lahore. This envoy was granted audience on the 31st October and the 23rd November, and he ultimately left Delhi on the 9th December without achieving anything.²

The Abdali King left Kandahar early in autumn and arrived at Peshawar early in November. From here he despatched his advance-guard ahead of him under his son Timur Shah and his commander-in-chief Jahan Khan. The vanguard crossed the Indus at Attock, halted at Hasan Abdal and collected provisions for the main army in the city of Gujrat. These troops marched in pursuit of Adina Beg Khan and plundered the districts of Eminabad, and Batala (13th December). Adina Beg Khan lay encamped at Jalalabad about 50 miles south-east. He fled away with his family, Sadiq Beg and Jamil-ud-din across the Beas to Nur Mahal, abandoning his camp and baggage to be plundered by the Abdali troops. Adina thence retired to Sodhra and Tihara

¹ *Ali-ud-din*, 114b; *Haqiqat*, 30.

² *Delhi Chronicle*, 135; *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 152.

Afterwards Ahmad Shah ordered that from every house in the city rich and poor alike without any exception a regular levy should be charged. The whole city was divided into wards and Afghan troops were posted everywhere. Torture of all kinds was applied and a large number of men died under the operation, many having poisoned and drowned themselves. Beating and slaying of men and women remained the order of the day in Delhi for a month (4th February to 5th March). The Abdali king married his son Timur Shah to Zohra Begam, the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II, and sent him back to the Panjab with all the booty thus collected to convey it to Afghanistan. He himself forcibly took into wedlock Hazrat Begam, a 16-year-old daughter of late Muhammad Shah.¹

On the 20th February, Mughlani Begam presented Ahmad Shah Abdali with costly jewels placed in several trays as her personal offering. The Afghan king was greatly delighted, and at once exclaimed: "Hitherto I had styled you my daughter, but from to-day I shall call you my son and give you the title of *Sultan Mirza*." He immediately conferred upon her his own tiara (*kulah*) with its ornaments of gold and jewels (*jigha*), cloak (*pairhan*) and aigrette, and other vestments that he was then wearing.²

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¹ Sarkār, ii, 101-2.

² Miskin, 138.

of about 400 horse including Miskin and joined the invader at Karnal. The Durrani pursued his onward march taking the Begam with him.¹

Agha Ali Raza Khan had been sent on the 20th December as an envoy to Abdali with gifts worth two lakhs of rupees to dissuade him from coming to Delhi.² He returned on the 14th January, 1757 "with the doleful message that the Afghan invader had demanded two crores of rupees in cash, the hand of the Emperor's daughter, and all the territory from Sarhind westwards, as the condition of his going back, and that he had severely censured the Delhi Government for provoking his invasion when they could not fight, but were bent on making terms."³

Najib joined the invader at Narela on the 16th January and Imad presented himself in the Abdali camp on the 19th. The Abdali granted him audience on the 20th and severely reprimanded him asking, "how the first officer of the empire of Hindustan could make an abject submission without striking even one blow to save the nation's credit."⁴ Afterwards he was taken in the Shah's train as a captive.

Abdali entered Delhi on the 28th January, 1757. From that day his troops commenced plundering and sacking the city mercilessly. The Durrani entered upon a systematic torture and exaction. The houses of all high nobles were dug up and their women stripped of everything. The Mughlani Begam rendered the Abdali the greatest service by informing him of what worth each noble was and by disclosing the nature of beauty of the virgins of the imperial palace.⁵

¹ Miskin, 131-7; cf. *Khair-ud-din*, 42.

² *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 161.

³ *Sarkār*, ii, 88-9.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 93. For details of this interview see *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, p. 45.

⁵ "مغلانی بیگم زوجہ معین الملک احوال ہر کسی را بسر دار
جہاں خان خانان اظہار نمودہ خانہ ہائی مردم را تاراج میکنانید
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¹ *Sarkār*, ii, 101-2.

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Shah ordered Shah Vali Khan and Jahan Khan to make preparations for the occasion, and in the night (20-21 February) married Imad to Umda Begam in his own presence. He gave as gift two lakhs of rupees, two elephants, four horses and bestowed the title of *Farzand Khan* on Imad. He handed over Ganna Begam, Imad's first wife, to Mughlani Begam to be treated as a bondmaid, while other women in his harem were divorced by Imad at Abdali's bidding. Imad was then installed in the office of the Wazir.¹

On the 22nd February Ahmad Shah left for Mathura and Agra to carry campaign in the territory of Raja Surajmal Jat, and Mughlani Begam along with Miskin accompanied him. In the course of this campaign, the Abdali grew more kind to her and granted her the Jullundur Doāb, Jammu, and Kashmir as a fief. She sent her agents to these places, appointed Khwajah Ibrahim Khan to the governorship of Kashmir, confirmed Raja Ranjit Dev in the possession of Jammu, and invited Adina Beg Khan to administer the Jullundur Doāb as her deputy.²

17. *Begam's Appointment in the Panjab Cancelled*

Mughlani Begam, however, soon came to know that a hoax had been played upon her, and that the whole country west of the Jumna had been placed under the charge of Abdali's son Timur Shah.

She had deputed Miskin to take a *khilat* for Adina Beg Khan who lay concealed in the Kangra hills. He arrived at Hajipur (30 miles north of Hoshiarpur); but Adina's camp was still 40 miles (25 *kos*) further in a hill called Khali Balwan.³ Miskin presented the robes of honour and stayed with him for some time.⁴

¹ *Delhi Chronicle*, 110-1; *Miskin*, 139; *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, pp. 46-9.

² *Miskin*, 139-40.

³ The same name is referred to by *Khushwaqt Rai*, p. 90, but this place could not be traced in any map.

⁴ *Miskin*, 143.

Meanwhile Adina Beg received an order from Timur Shah and a letter from Jahan Khan asking him to come to Lahore immediately and to take up the administration of the Jullundur Doab. Adina Beg Khan was in a predicament. He preferred the Begam's suzerainty to the overlordship of Timur and Jahan Khan. He consulted Miskin who advised him to postpone replying to the Prince till he received a definite communication from the Begam. Miskin was selected to undertake this duty and he started for Kandahar where the Begam was believed to have gone in the invader's train. He left the place, arrived at Adinanagar in three days and the next day by boat crossed the Ravi which flowed eight kos from there. At the ford he came across an old acquaintance who informed him that the Begam had returned from Abdali's camp, was at Sialkot a few days before and must have arrived at Lahore by then. Miskin reached Lahore in four days.¹

There he came to know that the Abdali had cancelled the grant of *jagir* to the Begam. He had, however, offered her an annual allowance of Rs. 30,000 with residence in Lahore. She refused this and insisted on the *Jagir* already given to her. The Durrani said, "Now that your brother Timur Shah is the viceroy there what will you do with the provinces?" He asked Shah Wali Khan and Jahan Khan to persuade her, but she would not agree and accompanied him up to the bank of the Jhelum, imploring him in vain to fulfil his promise. Disappointed she returned to Lahore and lived in Serai Hakim which had only two rooms, the rest being in ruins.²

18. *The Begam is maltreated by Jahan Khan*

Receiving no answer from Adina Beg Khan, Jahan Khan marched into the Doab and gave over many towns and cities to plunder and pillage.³ Adina Beg Khan agreed to under-

¹ *Miskin* 145-6.

² *Ibid.*, 147-8.

³ *Ibid.*, 145.

take the administration of the Doāb under Timur Shah provided that he was exempted from attending his court in Lahore.¹ Timur Shah agreed to it, and sent him the patent as well as the *khilat* of the Doāb for an annual tribute of 36 lakhs of rupees, and exempted him from personal attendance at his court.² For surety of Adina Beg's conduct and the punctual payment of the tribute, his agent Dilaram was kept in Lahore in constant attendance at the court.³

After a couple of months a dispute arose between Jahan Khan and Adina Beg Khan about the payment of the tribute. It seems that Jahan Khan was bent upon finding an excuse to call Adina Beg to Lahore. Adina Beg had been in office as the Afghan deputy only for two months when Jahan Khan started making demands for the tribute. Adina Beg naturally insisted on paying it after the expiry of the year or at the earliest at the end of the harvest. Jahan Khan sent some bailiffs demanding Adina Beg's immediate presence in Lahore. The latter mistrusted the Afghan general and flatly refused to come. He despatched some agents⁴ to secure for him the pardon for not attending in person. Timur Shah announced his pardon, but insisted upon his presence.⁵

Jahan Khan at once imprisoned his agent Dilaram and demanded six lakhs of rupees as the tribute for two months. The Mughlani Begam tried to secure the agent's liberty and ultimately succeeded in her object by standing surety for the payment of the revenues. She also wrote to Adina Beg Khan for immediate remittance and on receiving no reply from

¹ *Ibid.*, 165.

² *Ibid.*, 147.

³ *Ibid.*, 165; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 100; *Siyār*, iii, 63; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 102a; *Ahmad Shah*, 872; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 295a and 317a.

⁴ Shahab Khan of Peguwala (Phagwara?), Chaudhari Sahib Khan of Noshahra, Dharm Das Niranjaniya, Chaudhari of Jodhanagri, and Rai Ibrahim of Kapurthala. *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*, 55a. Cf. *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 317a.

⁵ *Ali-ud-din*, 117a.

him sent him some of her own jewels to be pawned to procure money. About this time Dilaram who was daily oppressed by the Afghan general also came to the Begam, saying, "They will kill me; I shall do whatever you advise me." The Begam took pity on him and asked him to flee from Lahore the same night, to get the money from Adina Beg without delay and to return immediately. Jahan Khan was furiously enraged on learning about Dilaram's escape, and sent for the Begam in his own house. Taking up a rod, he caught the Begam and laid on vigorously. She was not spared till she offered him her own jewels worth six lakhs of rupees. Two hundred troopers besieged her house and took away everything they could lay their hands on including Miskin's property and clothes. She was confined in a small room and unspeakable oppression was done to her.¹

¹ Miskin, 168-71.

"جهان خان اندرون خانه رفقه بیگم صاحبہ را همانجا دید بدست خود چوب کشید و بسیار زد بیگم لاچار عرض کرد کہ مارا تذبیبہ نسازند شش لک روپیہ را جواہر میدہم چنانچہ وقت نماز شام دو صد پیادہ معہ دو خواجہ سراہی ہمراہ شدہ در حویلی آوردند و تمام مردم بیگم صاحبہ از ہراس جان گریختہ رفتند مگر من مسکین تنہا سواری فرود آوردہ داخل حویلی نمود بیگم صاحبہ آن زمان حالیکہ گذشتہ بود بمن ظاہر ساختہ فرمودند کہ تو ہم گریختہ برو والا ترا ازجان خواهند کشت لیکن من از خدمت اوشان جدا نشدم و گفتم کہ ہرگاہ بر ہمچو شما خداوند من این چنینی حالت رسیدہ باشد پس ما شما را باین حال گذاشتہ رفتن ہرگز عقل صلاح نہدہ القصہ سہ چہار خواجہ سرا کہ ہمراہ آمدہ بودند سواری را فرو آوردہ در یک کوٹھڑی انداختند و آن دو صد پیادہ برسم چوکی اندرون نشستند دو روز ہمیں ماجرا جور و ستم کہ بگفت در نیاید ماند آخر الامر ہرچہ در سرکار الیشان از قسم زرو زیور و دیگر اشیاء بود ہمہ را گرفتند بلکہ جیغہ و سر پیچ معہ کلگی و کارد کار طلا و ساز نقرہ اسپ و چند قباہای کمخواب کہ بمن عذایت شدہ بود ہمہ را آوردہ حوالہ کردم باری چوکی برخاست"

19. *The Begam Stays at Batala, June to September, 1758*

Jahan Khan marched into the Jullundur Doāb, drove away Adina Beg Khan into mountains and seized his territory. Adina Beg was not to be cowed down so easily. He soon won over Marathas and Sikhs, and with their assistance expelled the Afghans from Lahore on the 9th April, 1758. On the approach of the Marathas Jahan Khan transferred his camp to Shahdara on the opposite bank of the Ravi, taking Mughlani Begam and her maiden daughter with him. When the Maratha and Sikh forces reached Lahore, Miskin quietly managed to bring the Begam and her daughter back to Lahore in a covered bullock cart (چوکی) and admitted them into their residential quarters (حویلی).¹

After the withdrawal of the Afghans the Marathas appointed Adina Beg Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab for an annual tribute of 75 lakhs of rupees. Adina Beg did not like to stay in Lahore, and preferred to set up his headquarters at Batala. He left his son-in-law Khwajah Mirza Khan in charge of the provincial capital. Khwajah Mirza felt afraid of Mughlani Begam's intrigues,² and requested Adina Beg Khan to take her with him. Adina Beg Khan accordingly provided the Begam with a few thousand rupees and about 200 bullock carts, and she moved to Batala.³

20. *Adina Beg's Good Treatment of the Begam*

At Batala Adina Beg Khan fixed for the Begam a grant of two thousand rupees per mensem and an allowance of fifty rupees per day for the kitchen expenses. She was offered a large mansion worthy of her position for residence. All the jewellery which the Begam had sent to Adina Beg Khan to be pawned in order to pay money to Jahan Khan

¹ *Ibid.*, 176.² *Ibid.*, 179.³ *Ibid.*, 180.

was returned to her.¹ The Begam left her maiden daughter and the whole male and female establishment in that mansion, and herself (خود جریده) lived in Adina Beg's camp. Adina Beg treated all the servants of the Begam with courtesy and consideration. He gave to each of them a horse from his own stable and paid them well and punctually.²

21. *The Begam is annoyed at Miskin*

Adina Beg's liberal grant of money and other favours brought prosperity to the Begam and her household servants. They were all happy; but all of a sudden Miskin fell a victim to the wrath of the Begam. Miskin was at this time a handsome and robust young man of eighteen, and the Begam, of loose character as she was, could not resist his bewitching youth. Miskin, on the other hand, as he frequently mentions, considered himself only a loyal servant of the family, and would not yield to the Begam's temptations. He says: "One day unfortunately an unbecoming event, the mention of which is beyond propriety and wisdom, took place. The Begam got terribly angry with me, imprisoned me, and even wanted to kill me. But as I was destined to enjoy the spectacle of this world a little longer, God took care of me and kept me safe. In the meantime the cause of my sufferings became known to all. Even Adina Beg Khan sent a word to the Begam pointing out the unfairness and unwisdom of the ill-treatment of a loyal and devoted servant. The Begam's wrath was calmed after fifteen days, and she grew kind to me again."³

The Begam spent a peaceful and good time at Batala ;

¹ The Begam paid to Miskin Rs. 400 to get jewels worn in the turban, and a plume which had been seized from him by Jahan Khan's men at Lahore. Miskin bought these ornaments and wore them on the day of Id festival which fell on the 8th June, 1758. *Miskin*, 181.

² *Ibid.*, 180-1.

³ *Ibid.*, 181.

but her happiness was not going to last very long. Early in September of the same year Adina Beg Khan was taken ill with colic, and after having enjoyed the Maratha viceroyalty of the Panjab for nearly five months, he died there on the 15th September, 1758.¹

22. *Mughlani Begam settles at Jammu, October, 1758*

One of the redeeming features of this period of constant upheaval and chaos was the peace that prevailed in the city of Jammu, the capital of Raja Ranjit Dev, a ruler noted for justice and impartiality. In those days the centres of population had shifted from the plains of the Panjab to the submontane region for reasons of safety and security. Ranjit Dev encouraged people of all sorts to settle in Jammu from every part of the Panjab. He granted special concessions and allowances to the courtiers and nobles of Delhi and Lahore, fallen under misfortune. He offered full religious liberty also to the Muslims, and extended to them various favours.²

¹ *Ibid.*, 182; S.P.D., ii, 96; *Farhat-un-Nazirin* in *Elliot*, viii, 169; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 101.

² *Bute Shah*, 34b-35b; *Ali-ud-din*, 51a. George Forster who visited Jammu in 1783 remarks:—

"Runzeid Deve, the father of the present chief of Jumbo, who deservedly acquired the character of a just and wise ruler, largely contributed to the wealth and importance of Jumbo. Perceiving the benefits which would arise from the residence of Mahometan merchants, he held out to them many encouragements, and observed towards them a disinterested and an honourable conduct. Negative virtues only are expected from an Asiatic people and under such a sanction his subjects might deem themselves fortunate; but the chief of Jumbo went farther than the forbearance of injuries; he avowedly protected and indulged his people, particularly the Mahometans, to whom he allotted a certain quarter of the town, which was thence denominated Moghulpour; and that no reserve might appear in his treatment of them, a mosque was erected in the new colony; a liberality of disposition the more conspicuous, and conferring the greater honour on his memory, as it is the only instance of the like toleration in this part of India, and as the Kashmirians, who chiefly composed his Mahometan subjects, have been

On the death of Adina Beg Khan the Begam was at a loss what to do, and eventually decided to settle at Jammu. When she reached near the town, Raja Ranjit Dev came out to a distance of five miles to receive her. On seeing her he alighted from his horse, paid respects to the Begam, and offered her a suitable dwelling place and some allowance and lands by way of maintenance. The Begam took from Miskin the three jewels of the turban, and conferred these along with a robe of honour on the Raja.¹

23. *Life at Jammu, 1758-1759*

Ranjit Dev offered a house to the Mughlani Begam for the time being near the residence of Udho Minister. This place was not suitable to the dignity of the Begam; but no other building better than this was available at that time. The Raja ordered Mukarma Kotwal to build a new house for her, and so the Begam was satisfied. The new place was not much better than the old one, and the Begam did not like it. However she granted a robe of honour to the Kotwal to show her approval with a view to avoid any future difficulty which might be created by him in case of disapproval. The Raja visited the Begam twice a week to pay his respects. After a few days he offered to the Begam an allowance of Rs. 1,000 per mensem. The Begam, in view of her past glory, did not like the idea of living on the dole of the Raja, and declined to accept the offer.

Many courtiers, officials and bankers of Lahore were living in Jammu, all of whom waited on the Begam and each received a *doshala* and a robe of honour. In this way the Begam distributed nearly 150 *doshalas*. Besides she was

since their conversion, rigorous persecutors of the Hindoos. He was so desirous also of acquiring their confidence and esteem that when he had been riding through their quarter during the time of prayer he never failed to stop his horse until the priest had concluded his ritual exclamations." *Journey*, i, 283-4.

¹ Miskin, 182.

maintaining an establishment of about two hundred persons in her service, all well paid and handsomely rewarded. Furthermore, giving away of gifts very frequently was a part of her nature. She continued this practice in spite of her limited financial resources. The result was that in the course of a year and a half she spent all the ready money in her possession. Then she pawned her jewellery for Rs. 30,000, and this sum also was soon used up. "Nothing was left with the Begam now and she had to face the difficulty of finding money for her daily needs, until starvation stared her in the face."

Miskin had been given Rs. 400 for the three jewels of the turban which the Begam had conferred upon Raja Ranjit Dev. Besides, each male servant was granted a precious pearl. Finding the Begam financially in peril, Miskin collected all the pearls, his own money, including a nose-ring which the Begam had given to Miskin's wife, and presented all these to the Begam. The Begam declined to accept; but Miskin handed them over to the food manager to buy articles of diet and other necessary things.¹

24. *The Begam is Invited to Take the Governorship of Kashmir*

Just at this time an agent of Sukh Jiwan, the Governor of Kashmir, visited the Begam. The Begam's presence in Jammu had alarmed him greatly. His suspicion was that the Begam intended to oust him from the governorship with the assistance of Ahmad Shah Durrani of whom he had become independent. Sukh Jiwan made offers of presents and a tribute if the Begam stayed in Jammu and did not proceed to Kashmir. The agent found that the Begam had no intention of approaching to Kashmir, and so wrote to Sukh Jiwan not to send any money and gifts.

Four days afterwards Hasan Manda an agent of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 183-4.

courtiers of Kashmir, rivals of Sukh Jiwan, waited upon the Begam, offered a *nazar* of one gold coin, and requested the Begam to march upon Kashmir and to seize the government of the province from Sukh Jiwan. He also stated that his masters had collected a force of twelve thousand men and had been fighting with Sukh Jiwan for the past two months. But they could not pool their resources for want of a leader. The people were ready to accept her as their ruler, particularly in view of the fact that on an earlier occasion she had been granted the governorship of Kashmir by Ahmad Shah Durrani. Miskin tried his utmost to prevail upon the Begam to accept the overtures of Hasan Manda; but she preferred submission of Sukh Jiwan who had promised her an annual tribute. Hasan Manda returned to Kashmir, and the Begam waited in vain for Sukh Jiwan's presents.

In the meantime Hasan Manda regularly sent petitions to the Begam and ultimately requested her that if she was not willing to undertake the expedition personally, she should despatch an agent with the Durrani's certificate of the governorship of Kashmir. He stated that the agent should be accompanied by five hundred horse, and he promised to gain the province for her. This time the Begam decided to try her chance. She offered the post of her plenipotentiary in Kashmir to Ghazi Beg Khan *alias* Aqil Beg Khan who had served as her paymaster (*Bakhshi*) in Lahore. He, however, declined to accept the office. She then selected Abu Tarab Khan Kashmiri, but his appointment was not approved of by Hasan Manda who explained that the fact of his being a Kashmiri was a disqualification as he would not command full respect and co-operation from all the chiefs. The position was there-upon offered to Miskin whose selection was liked by Hasan Manda. Miskin's comrades suspected treachery on the part of the Begam; but Miskin satisfied them on this score. The next problem was to secure the service of 500 men. There was no money or jewels available. Miskin therefore

sold some rugs and carpets and procured Rs. 2,000. He set up his camp outside the city for recruitment, and there he was joined by Hasan Manda.¹

25. *The Begam is duped by a Priest*

In this camp Miskin recruited nearly 400 troopers in a day and remained busy from early morning till midnight in recording the descriptive rolls of all these men. When all had retired to rest except Miskin and Darab Beg, the Begam, disguised as a man with a turban and a cloak on, appeared in his camp. Miskin rose and saluted her and enquired what had brought her there at dead of night in that strange appearance. She said that a *Mulla* (a Muslim preacher) had promised to procure her a buried treasure of Rs. 30,000. She gave him out of the sum of Rs. 2,000 which Miskin had secured from the sale of rugs and carpets, Rs. 500 for scents etc., another Rs. 500 for a piebald horse to be sacrificed on the place of the treasure, and the remaining Rs. 1,000 as an advance from the promised reward to him. This hour of the night was selected by the *Mulla* for the sacrifice of the horse, and she came there to take Miskin with her to that place. She told him that spade-workers and torch-bearers were waiting outside. On hearing this Miskin heaved a deep sigh of grief and realized that all of his plans of going to Kashmir had been shattered to pieces. He sent Faizullah Beg to find out if the *Mulla* had sacrificed the horse in that ruined place. Faizullah Beg stated that he found no living creature in that house. He was again sent with Darab Beg, but they returned disappointed. A messenger was despatched to the *Mulla's* house. The neighbours informed him that the *Mulla* had rented the house for ten days, and that the same evening he had left along with other members of his family. The Begam was very much grieved. She returned to her residence, and abused, maltreated and

¹ *Ibid.*, 184-7.

beat all those men and maid-servants who had approved of that scheme.

The Begam ordered Miskin to procure another two thousand rupees and undertake the expedition. Miskin respectfully expressed his inability. The Begam flew into a rage and openly abused Miskin. On seeing this the recruits and soldiers fled away ; but Miskin alone with four horses of his own stayed in the camp waiting for further orders of the Begam. Meanwhile one horse was stolen by thieves and two were forcibly taken possession of by his friends. Thus only one horse was left with Miskin. Several of his servants also ran away, only two stood by him. He stayed in this camp for forty days ; but the Begam did not restore her favour to him. His comrades-in-arms were forcing Miskin to lead them to the Begam to demand their arrears of pay, after which they wanted to seek service somewhere else. Miskin, however, did not agree.¹

26. *The Begam and Miskin have a Narrow Escape*

Miskin's companions bitterly complained to him of their hardships which they were facing for non-payment of their salaries. Out of them two—Afrasiyab Beg and Baroz Beg—threatened to kill the Begam. Miskin dissuaded them as best as he could ; but they persisted in their resolution. When they left Miskin, he sent Darab Beg after them to prevent them from executing their design.

Afrasiyab Beg and Baroz Beg made straight for the Begam's house. They seized her, threw her on the ground and drew out their swords to kill her. The Begam finding herself in the jaws of death used her wits. She suppressed her anger and displeasure and said that they were justified in maltreating her. She told them that she had still plenty of jewellery, and she was ready to pay them immediately.

¹ *Ibid.*, 187-90.

They let her go. She instantly repaired to the top of the house and cried aloud for assistance against the murderers. The people at once entered her house and arrested both the culprits including other servants. The Begam blamed Miskin also and immediately sent for him. On seeing Miskin she loudly abused him. Mukarma, the *Kotwal* of the city, also arrived. He assured the Begam that he would serve them right. Saying this he caught Miskin by the arm and took him out in the street. There he summoned all the Turki servants in the service of the Begam. He told them that the Begam was a bad woman, and they must not worry. He returned to the Begam and stated to her that all of her servants were bent upon mischief; but he would set them right in a day or two. The *Kotwal* afterwards went home, and from there sent a man to Miskin asking for a necklace of pearls as the price of his settling the dispute. Miskin assured the man that he was penniless. The following day Miskin and Afrasiyab Beg were summoned to the *Kotwal's* house, where both of them were bound hand and foot and hung down by ropes into a well to the surface of water. Afterwards Muqim Beg and Husain Beg were also imprisoned similarly in the same well. Miskin's hands were tightly secured on the back. In that condition the *Kotwal* repeated his demand for a necklace, otherwise threatened to drown them. The Begam sent men in their search, and on tracing them in the well they reported it to her. She at once ordered for their release. Afrasiyab and Baroz Beg were dismissed from service, while others were set free.¹

27. *Miskin escorts Begam's daughter to Delhi*
September, 1759

Miskin knew that the Begam had ruined her life, and as a faithful servant of the family he keenly felt for the Begam's young daughter whose career was at stake owing to her mother's bad company. About that time Khwajah

¹*Ibid.*, 190-3.

Said Khan, an ex-official of Lahore, came to Jammu. Miskin waited upon him, and in view of the Begam's pecuniary embarrassments induced him to help the Begam in as much as to convey her maiden daughter to Delhi to her elder sister, suggesting that by doing so Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Khan, the Begam's son-in-law, would be pleased with him. He took the Khwajah to the Begam, and prevailed upon her to send her daughter to Delhi. About three hundred rupees were required for the hire of carriages and carts etc., and this sum was provided by Said Khan. The Begam appointed Miskin to this task, and made preparations for the departure of her daughter.¹ Miskin hired fifteen carriages, and with many maid-servants escorted the young lady to Delhi. It took them one month on the way.²

28. *The Begam receives the grant of Sialkot District*
C. April, 1760

Miskin was still in Delhi, when the news of Ahmad Shah Abdali's fresh invasion reached there. Shortly afterwards the Begam also reached the capital. Miskin waited upon her. She secured an elephant to ride on, several tents and carpets, and loading all these goods on camels she joined the camp of the Durrani King on the banks of Lake Nawab Qamr-ud-din Khan. Ahmad Shah on learning that she was reduced to poverty granted her the revenues of Sialkot *parganah* amounting to Rs. 30,000 per annum. The Begam returned to Delhi, and appointed Abu Tarab Khan her agent at Sialkot. The district of Sialkot formed a part of *Chahar Mahal* ruled over by Rustam Khan who refused to hand over the Sialkot district to Abu Tarab.

¹ Miskin narrates an interesting event. One of Begam's maid-servants who was in love with Mahabbat eunuch, an ex-servant of the Begam and then living in Delhi, disappeared from the Begam's house. The Begam suspected her servants, and beat them so severely, that one maid-servant died under the operation. The Begam blamed Miskin also. This woman was, however, recovered later from Jammu. *Ibid.*, 195-6.

² *Ibid.*, 194-6.

The Begam thereupon appointed Miskin to the charge of Sialkot district, and gave him a certificate under her seal and signatures. Miskin experienced no difficulty in taking charge of the district. As it was the harvest time, Miskin set himself to the task of collecting half-yearly revenues and soon managed to realize Rs. 15,000, which he transmitted to the Begam.¹

29. *The Sikhs capture Miskin, C. October, 1760*

By this time Ahmad Shah Durrani had called to his assistance most of his officers and troops from the Panjab, and Sikhs became supreme everywhere. The next instalment of revenue was to be collected in October at the end of the summer crops; but the Sikh and Hindu cultivators were averse to its payment. They rose against the Muslim officers and captured and later ransomed Rustam Khan, the Governor of *Chahar Mahal*, and Miskin.

The incident is so interesting that it will not be out of place to give translation of a part of Miskin's narrative in order to present a view of the lawlessness that prevailed in the Panjab at that time :—

"Meanwhile the Governor of *Chahar Mahal* with 150 horse and foot came out of the city (Sialkot) to fight the Sikhs. On hearing this, in a short while, I also galloped off and joined him at a distance of two *kos*. I enquired where he was going. He replied that there was a village six *kos* off as the crow flies where 50 Sikhs were fighting (with the villagers). The *zamindars* had informed him and so he was bound for that place in order to punish them. I accompanied him. When we covered six *kos* (we saw that) the village was invested by nearly 4,000 Sikhs. On seeing us from a distance they left the village and rushed towards us. There was a fort in ruins

¹ *Ibid.*, 206-18.

near by. All of us took shelter in it. The fight commenced. They committed violence on the village from afternoon till midnight.....

"We spent the night with the greatest anxiety and irresolution. When the day dawned I saw that Sikhs and *zamindars* were running in crowds to fight us, and our men were driven back every moment. They very loudly shouted, 'Hand over Rustam Khan, Governor of *Chahar Mahal* to us!' We showered bullets on them for about an hour and a half and afterwards our supply of ammunition ran short. The Sikhs grew bolder and came just below the fort. In this state of helplessness we threw on them from the top of the fort clods of earth, pieces of stone, broken earthen vessels, and pieces of wood, in short, on whatever we could lay our hands. We kept them back with bravery and courage till noon, and did not allow them to approach us. At last the Sikhs climbed up the tower and began to break the walls.

"At this Rustam Khan, I and six other men, tied pieces of cloth round our waists and brandishing swords came out of the door. By chance my foot slipped near the gate, and I fell down. The Sikhs at once captured me on the spot, and a few paces ahead Rustam Khan was also arrested. One of our companions named Alahvardi Beg was slain. By that time the number of Sikhs and *zamindars* had swelled to 20,000. They brought us to the village where they were originally fighting. At nightfall they demanded one lakh of rupees from me (by way of ransom). The discussion was prolonged till midnight, and ultimately the bargain was struck at Rs. 6,000. It was settled that I should go to my village the next day, give them an order on (some banker of) Jammu, and on receiving the money they would leave me safely in Jammu.

"Consequently, early next morning two or three Sikhs started for my place. About 100 other Sikhs were also going in that direction. They took me on horseback for two or

three *kos*, and afterwards they forced me to walk. When I had gone seven *kos*, my feet began to ache, and I felt exhausted. Then I caught sight of Pasrur city from a distance of two or three *kos*. At that time the Sikh on my horse invoked the name of his *Guru* and said, 'O *Guru*! whosoever utters your name in the morning, is never disappointed in any undertaking.' On hearing this prayer I fell weeping. I also remembered God and said, 'O most high protector! I am your humble creature. Help me now and liberate me from the hands of the Sikhs.' I was uttering this prayer when my gaze lighted on a towering fort on the way. The *zamindar* of that place fell upon the Sikhs with 40 or 50 armed soldiers (*barqandaz*), defeated them, and carried off all their plundered goods and baggage. He also brought us in his fort. At the time of the evening-prayer that Sikh who was driving us sent the *zamindar* of the fort a word that the Mughal whom he had seized was to be ransomed by the chief of the Sikhs for Rs. 6,000, and that he was responsible for that sum. On hearing this we were placed in a tower under strict vigilance."¹

Miskin remained in captivity for ten days and suffered much from poverty and violence. But the *zamindar* of the fort took him for an ordinary Mughal soldier, and finally liberated him on receiving only Rs. 200 from him. Rustam Khan was, however, subjected to greater misery, and was ultimately released on the extortion of Rs. 22,000.²

30. *The Begam returns to Jammu, C. November, 1760*

When Ahmad Shah Abdali encamped at Panipat in October, 1760, to have the final struggle with the Marathas, Mughlani Begam returned to Jammu. Miskin was at this time in captivity of the Sikhs. Two days after his release he visited the Begam at Jammu. Miskin presented her

¹ *Ibid.*, 218-21.

² *Ibid.*, 222-4.

with Rs. 500 which he had saved at Sialkot. The Begam thanked him for the money and informed him that she needed money badly as Rs. 15,000 sent by him had already been spent. Miskin explained the hardships he had suffered at Sialkot. The Begam expressed her gratification for his faithful services.

Abu Tarab Khan, the original nominee of the Begam grew jealous of Miskin's achievements, and taking advantage of the Begam's unsteady temperament set his mother, sister and wife after the Begam to get Abu Tarab appointed in Miskin's place. The Begam ultimately agreed to their entreaties. Abu Tarab nominated Darab Beg as his assistant and sent him to Sialkot, while Miskin was detained in Jammu.

No *zamindar* came to offer submission to Darab Beg. He then took the Begam to Sialkot. She stayed there for a fortnight; but none waited upon her to pay homage. Rustam Khan advised the Begam to reinstate Miskin. In disappointment the Begam returned to Jammu. Raja Ranjit Dey and his Minister also recommended Miskin for the restoration of her favour. The Begam was very much offended at his popularity, and she put him under surveillance.

Miskin remained in the Begam's captivity for nearly six months (November, 1760—March, 1761), and was released at the time of Ahmad Shah Durrani's return to Lahore through the intercession of Fatah Ali Khan Qizalbash, warden of Shah Vali Khan's *Diwan-Khana*. In his absence the Begam could realize only Rs. 3,000 from Sialkot District, and this money was paid by the *zamindars* only for fear of the Durrani king who was then in Lahore. The Begam was dissatisfied with this small sum, and she knew that Miskin was the proper man for the job; but her vanity would not permit her to admit her failure.¹

¹ *Ibid.*, 223-8.

31. *Mughlani Begam marries a Eunuch, C. June, 1761*

Shortly after the retirement of Ahmad Shah Abdali Abu Tarab died. The Begam was deeply grieved and blamed Miskin for having killed him by magic. During Miskin's captivity Abu Tarab was the head of her household establishment and another eunuch named Shahbāz was his assistant. On the death of Abu Tarab the chief position which was generally occupied by Miskin was given to Shahbāz. The Begam's intimacy with Shahbāz became known to the people. Miskin found everybody wagging his tongue telling tales of the Begam's loose life with him, and "in the whole city of Jammu the notoriety of this affair was talked of for about two or three months."¹ The scandal flared up sky-high, and the Begam found it impossible to continue to live at this place. Consequently, she retired to another hill called Samba (30 miles south-east of Jammu) which was not under the direct jurisdiction of Ranjit Dev. She left Miskin behind to wind up her business at Jammu. Miskin stayed there for seventeen days, and then joined the Begam. He found that his own family and all other women who had always lived with the Begam had been left at a place called Parmandal (20 miles east of Jammu), while the Begam was living all alone with Shahbāz. Miskin presented himself before the Begam who informed him that she had married Shahbāz.² She asked Miskin to congratulate Shahbāz on his marriage and offer him a *nazar* of five rupees. In return the Begam promised to give him a precious sword

¹ *Ibid.*, 230.² *Ibid.*, 231.

Shiv Prashad another contemporary writes:—

"The late Nawab's widow who is the daughter of Nawab Jani Khan has drawn the curtain of unchastity and immodesty, and by casting to the wind all honour and prestige of her ancestors plays the game of love with Shahbāz, a servant of the late Nawab. The Raja of Jammu had granted her *jagirs* two or three times, but now finding her of dissolute character has confiscated her villages."

Cf. Farah Bakhsh, 33b.

CHAPTER VI

THE INVASIONS OF AHMAD SHAH DURRANI

THE FOUNDER OF INDEPENDENT AFGHANISTAN

[Date of birth unknown—Died, 14th April, 1772]

1. *Early Career*

AHMAD ABDALI belonged to the Sadozai clan of Afghans who lived in the province of Herat. The people of this tribe were called Abdali, that is servants of Ali, because formerly they had embraced the Shia religion, although, they became orthodox and zealous Sunnis later on.¹

Ahmad Abdali was the son of Zaman Khan who had migrated to Multan, where his son Ahmad was born. When Iran was thrown into anarchy and confusion before Nadir Shah, Zaman Khan came back to Herat, where his eldest son Zulfiqar Khan placed himself at the head of some daring young men and soon rose to importance.

As the Afghans had revolted against Nadir Shah, he inflicted a crushing defeat on them, and by way of punishment he removed the Ghilzai tribe wholesale from the Kandahar Province and settled the Abdalis there whose permanent home it became. On this occasion Nadir Shah captured many persons as prisoners of war, among whom

¹ Some writers assign a different origin to this tribe. They hold that Abdalis have descended from Abdal, the founder of the tribe. Cf. *Tazkira-i-Afghani*, 17; *Hayat-i-Afghani*, 121; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 3.

were, Zulfiqar and Ahmad. Zulfiqar was given command of a large body of his clan in 1737 and was subsequently appointed Governor of Herat, where he lost his life in a fight with Ghilzais. The younger brother, Ahmad Abdali, soon endeared himself to Nadir Shah by his conspicuous gallantry.¹

Nadir Shah, being struck by the bright features of Ahmad, enlisted him as one of his personal slaves. After a short time he promoted him to the post of *yasawal*, an armed mace-bearer, and soon raised him to the command of a thousand men.²

Ahmad Shah, being with Nadir Shah throughout his Indian campaign, and Nadir was deeply impressed by Ahmad's bravery and generalship. He consequently appointed him the chief commander of his personal contingent of 6,000. Nadir Shah often remarked in open court: "I have not found in Iran, Turan or Hind any man equal to Ahmad Abdali in capacity and character."³ Nadir's Qizalbash

¹ *Shah Yusaf*, 57a-b; *Gulzar-i-Shahi*, 522; *Arthur Conolly's Journey to the North of India*, vol. ii, p. 344.

² *Khazan-i-Amira*, 97; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 121; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 294b.

³ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 4; *Husain Shahi*, 14; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 121; *Sarkār*, i, 201.

An interesting incident took place at Delhi. Nizam-ul-Mulk Asaf Jah, the founder of Hyderabad State, who was credited with the power of reading a man's future from his face, on seeing the Abdali remarked that he was destined to become a king. This prediction increased Nadir's belief in Ahmad's greatness.

There is another anecdote of the same nature. One day Nadir Shah summoned Ahmad Abdali in full court and said: "After me the kingship will pass on to you; then you must not forget me, and must treat my family well." In order to remind him of this prophecy he slightly mutilated his ears. When Ahmad Shah conquered Khorasan, he requited the trust of Nadir Shah, by aiding Shah Rukh, the grandson and successor of Nadir Shah, and entrusting him with the government of Khorasan.

Ferrier says that Nadir Shah punished him for an act of insubordination by cutting off one of his ears. *History of the Afghans*, 93.

conspirators murdered¹ their master on the night of the 9th June, 1747, and aimed at attacking his faithful Afghan² troops in the morning. This secret, however, leaked out, and Ahmad Abdali with his devoted soldiers stood on his guard, and forestalled the plans of the conspirators. Falling on the treasure and camp of Nadir Shah, which was being plundered by the Qizalbashes, he secured the major portion of it including the famous Koh-i-Noor diamond. Finding himself and his men in danger he decided to retire to his native home Kandahar.

The Afghan chiefs then held a council and resolved : "On the long journey before us we need a man whose commands all shall obey. It would be difficult, nay impossible, for us to reach Kandahar with the entire body of our women, children and servants, in the face of hostile Iranis, unless we have a supreme chief. We must obey such a leader, whatever happens."³ They swore to remain strictly united, and unanimously elected Ahmad Abdali their leader, who was now hailed as Ahmad Shah. The spiritual blessings were given by his religious guide, Muhammad Sabir Shah, who piling up a small mound of earth, seized Ahmad's hand and seated him on it saying, "This is your throne." Then strewing some shoots of green grass on his head, he declared them the aigrette on his crown,

¹ It is stated that shortly before the murder of Nadir Shah, Ahmad Abdali visited the sacred tomb of Sultan Abul Hasan Ali, son of Musa Raza, at Meshad. After performing his devotions he was coming back, when he caught sight of a religious mendicant, Sabir Shah, who was spreading a piece of cloth on two sticks as if it were a tent for small children. Ahmad out of curiosity enquired as to what the mendicant was about. The man looked up steadfastly in his face, and asked, "Are you Ahmad Abdali?" On his replying in the affirmative, he said, "This is Nadir Shah's tent. Whenever it falls, you shall become the king." Ahmad left one of his attendants to watch the tent, and it fell when Nadir Shah was murdered. *Siyār*, iii, 16; *Bayān*, 163; *Ibrat Miqāl*, ii, 56a; *Shah Yūsaf*, 57b-58a.

² Nadir Shah drew most of his recruits and officers from the Afghans, Turanis and Uzbaks. *Siyār*, iii, 16.

³ *Mujmil*, 74; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 122.

and styled him *Durrani Padshah* or pearl among kings.¹

Ahmad Shah was the first Afghan king who laid the foundation of the Afghan kingdom in Afghanistan. On being elected king he gave the Abdali tribe, the name of Durrani, and claimed the provinces that Nadir Shah had wrested from Muhammad Shah of Delhi as a part of the Durrani kingdom which included Kandahar, Ghazni, Kabul, Hazara, Peshawar, Derajat, Multan, and Sind. To complete the paraphernalia of royalty Shah Wali Khan was raised to the dignity of the chief minister, Jahan Khan to that of the commander-in-chief, and Shah Pasand Khan was distinguished by the title of *Amir-i-Lashkari*.²

Not possessing ready cash necessary for inaugurating an efficient government, the Durrani king was much distressed. Luckily in this emergency Taqi Khan Akhtabegi Shirazi,³ whom Nadir Shah before his death had sent to Peshawar to collect the revenue, entered Kandahar with thirty lakhs of rupees.⁴ Ahmad Shah seized the treasure and persuaded the chief to enter his service. This success gave his government a perfectly regular character. He then struck

¹ Muhammad Sabir Shah was the grandson of the famous master Usta Halalkhor, the farrier of Kabul, who had turned a *faqir* and was greatly revered by Turanis. His father's name was Husain. Their original home was in Lahore, but recently they had migrated to Afghanistan.

Bayān, 162-3; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 123; *Ibrat Mīqāl*, ii, 55b-56a; *Siṭār*, iii, 16; *Husain Shahi*, 17-8; *Mujmil*, 74; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 6.

Sabir Shah called Ahmad Shah Abdali *Dur-i-Dauran*, the pearl of the age, but Ahmad Shah preferred the title of *Dur-i-Durran*, the pearl of pearls.

Tarikh-i-Afghani, 17; *Hayat-i-Afghani*, 121 and 129.

The idea of the title struck the saint probably from the fact that when Ahmad Shah was a slave of Nadir Shah, he like the rest, wore in his ear a gold ring, studded with a pearl.

² *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 6; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 124.

³ Ferrier wrongly calls him "Eaghee Khan Chirazee." *History of the Afghans*, 70.

⁴ Ferrier is mistaken in putting this sum at two crores of rupees. *Ibid*.

a coin in his own name which bore the following inscription :—

حکم شد از قادر بے چوں با جہد پادشاه
سکه زن بر سیم و زر از موج ماهی تا ماه

[God, the inscrutable, commanded Ahmad, the king, to stamp silver and gold currency, from the pisces to the moon.]

He also had a seal made in the form of a peacock bearing the following line :—

الحکم الله یا فتاح احمد شاه در درانی

[By the command of God, the bestower of victory, Ahmad Shah became the pearl of the Durrani.¹]

Ahmad Shah opened negotiations with Nasir Khan the Governor of Kabul. He offered to confirm him as the governor of Kabul if he agreed to pay an annual tribute of five lakhs. Nasir Khan retired to Peshawar and fortified the passes leading to India. Ahmad Shah marched from Kandahar, took Ghazni on the way and captured Kabul without any struggle. He then advanced to Peshawar. Abdul Samad Khan, the chief of Peshawar, deserted Nasir Khan and joined Ahmad Shah Abdali in Jalalabad. This demoralised Nasir Khan who took refuge in the Chach² district. Ahmad Shah ordered Jahan Khan to pursue Nasir Khan. He succeeded in escaping to Lahore, but his family fell into Jahan Khan's hands. They were kindly treated by Ahmad Shah and were set at liberty. Ahmad

¹ Bayān, 162; Khazan-i-Amira, 97; Husain Shahi, 21; Imad-i-Saadat, 58b; Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanistan, 143-4; Tarikh-i-Ali, 124; Tarikh-i-Sultani, 124; J.A.S., vol. liv, part i, The Coins of Ahmad Shah Abdali.

A letter dated April, 1761, to which the above seal is affixed is preserved in the Forman Christian College Library, Lahore.

² Chach is an extensive plain to the east of Attock. It is about twenty miles long and fifteen miles wide. Burnes found it "an entire sheet of cultivation"; whilst Vigne says that it was "covered with long grass and low jungle." It is strewn all over with granite boulders. Cf. Thornton, i, 145.

Shah seized Peshawar. He now became supreme in the country lying between Herat on the one hand and Indus on the other. But he was not satisfied with ruling over this vast territory. He yearned for the possession of India, the land of gold and slaves for the people of the North-west.¹

2. *First Invasion of India, 1747-48*

The motives of Ahmad Shah for invading India may easily be discerned. 1The Afghans possessed a turbulent nature and a keen spirit of rivalry; and if their energies were not occupied in something which could strike their imagination, they would be creating disorder and planning rebellions, ultimately resulting in disintegration of the newly founded kingdom. Hence war was a necessity to him. 2In spite of the fact that he was a national king he was looked upon by the old nobility as an upstart. He therefore could only consolidate his power by winning fame through foreign wars. 3With Indian gold he could win over the Afghan chiefs and satisfy the Afghan peoples' avidity for riches as "gold in Afghanistan is, more than anywhere else, the god of the human race."³ 4Besides, the hardy tribes of Afghanistan and Central Asia who delighted in distant campaigns and successful plundering expeditions, considered India as the most productive field for conquest and rapine.

5While Ahmad Shah was staying at Peshawar, he received invitation to invade India, from Shahnawaz Khan, the usurping Governor of the Panjab, who wanted to free himself from the impending danger of punishment from the Delhi Emperor for his high-handedness. Keeping in view the utter weakness of the Delhi Empire which he had himself seen when in attendance upon Nadir Shah, he at once

¹ Husain Shahi, 22; Anand Ram, 300-302; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 6; *Siyār*, iii, 17.

² Ferrier's *History of Afghans*, 286.

accepted the invitation. He left Peshawar by the middle of December, 1747, and arrived at Shahdara on the 8th January, 1748.

Meanwhile Shahnawaz Khan had changed his mind under the influence of his maternal uncle, Qamr-ud-din Khan, the grand wazir of Delhi. Ahmad Shah tried his utmost to regain the young governor's loyalty, but to no purpose. He crossed the Ravi on the 10th January and encamped in the Shalamar Garden. The battle between the opposing troops took place on the 11th January in which Shahnawaz Khan was defeated.¹ He fled to Delhi in the night, with his officers and soldiers following suit, and Lahore fell into the hands of the invader without any further resistance. Ahmad Shah plundered the outskirts and suburbs of the city, particularly Mohalla Mughalpura, but spared the city for a ransom of thirty lakhs.²

The Delhi Court had learnt no lesson from their discomfiture by Nadir Shah. His massacre, rapine and outrage were soon forgotten, by them and the Mughal nobility continued to indulge in sensual pleasures as before. The Mughal nobility at this time when face to face with a grave menace presented a picture of awful inactivity, indecision and irresolution. Muhammad Shah had grown extremely indolent, ease-loving and addicted to opium-eating. He was confined to bed owing to an attack of paralysis. The news of Ahmad Shah's approach were daily pouring in the imperial capital, but the court was as passive as ever. When they learnt that Lahore had been seized by the invader, the imperial army, consisting of two

Mohammad
Shah

¹ *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 126, states that Shahnawaz Khan had advanced to the Chenab to oppose the invader; but Ahmad Shah cut into his rear and reached Lahore before him.

² The contemporary Waris Shah, the famous author of *Hir*, was then living in Lahore, and saw the horrors of this campaign. He condemns Shahnawaz Khan and his men, calling them even more cowardly than women Cf. *Sassi Waris Shah* of Abdul Qadir, 12.

lakhs of men, slowly stirred out of its luxurious abode under the nominal command of Prince Ahmad Shah, though Wazir Qamr-ud-din Khan was the supreme head in reality.

The imperialists arrived at Sirhind on the 25th February, when they found to their dismay that the fort had been deserted by Ali Muhammad Rohilla, who wanted to avoid fighting his Afghan tribesmen. Believing the enemy to be somewhere in the neighbourhood, they decided to make Sirhind their base of operations. They left their heavy baggage, surplus stores and their women including Wazir's harem in the fort with a garrison of 1,000 horse and foot and marched to the river Sutlej, and instead of crossing it by the direct route at Ludhiana, decided to ford it by the Machhiwara Ghat, twenty-two miles above. They blundered again in not guarding the Ludhiana road and in not collecting intelligence of the enemy's movements, and in not maintaining communication with Sirhind.

Ahmad Shah reached the Sutlej following the direct Ludhiana route on the 1st March, and captured Sirhind on the 2nd. He put the garrison to the sword, took possession of all war material, reduced the women to slavery, and sent treasure and surplus baggage to Lahore.

Learning of the catastrophe the imperialists became panicky. They hurriedly returned and halted near Manupur, 10 miles north-west of Sirhind, where they took up an entrenched position. It was a dry and sandy region and they suffered from scarcity of water. Food also grew scarce because the swift roving bands of Afghans had cut off their means of communication.

The imperialists had the advantage of heavy artillery and the sheer weight of their numbers. Skirmishes went on daily and some of the local chiefs such as Jamal Khan of Malerkotla, Rai Kalha of Jagraon, Alha Singh of Patiala and Adina Beg Khan, the Governor of the Jullundur Doab

rendered valuable services to the imperialist cause by harassing the enemy and by cutting off his supplies. On the 11th March, the Wazir who was about to lead the army for a general attack was struck by a ball in his tent, and was instantly killed.

His son Muin-ul-Mulk kept the sad news a secret. He mounted on the Wazir's elephant himself and delivered the assault. A fierce fight followed. Under the superior tactics of the Durrani the left wing of the imperial army gave way. The thickest contest raged in the centre. Muin's skin was grazed, his brother was shot in the foot, Adina Beg, the Governor of the Jullundur Doāb, was twice wounded, and many officers of note were slain. In the meantime the right wing under Safdar Jang had defeated the Afghans. Safdar Jang then rushed to the rescue of Muin. Just at this time when the Afghans were hard pressed, their own stores of rockets caught fire. The sparks set fire to the gunpowder of the field artillery, killing 1,000 Afghans on the spot. Ahmad Shah Durrani therefore retired leaving the Indians masters of the field.

The imperialists took no advantage of their victory, as they stirred from their trenches five days later, on the 16th March, when Abdali had gone far away on his route to Afghanistan. The Prince reached the Sutlej on the 21st March, and allowed his troops some days for rest. On the 9th April a letter came from Muhammad Shah, recalling the Prince to Delhi immediately and appointing Muin-ul-Mulk, the Viceroy of the Panjab.¹

This great triumph of the Mughals had no deterring effect on the invader who entered the Panjab again next year.

¹ Anand Ram, 343-77; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 7-20; *Mujmil*, 101-12; *Zafar Namah*, 4b-12a; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 97-8; *Siyār*, iii, 18-9; *Husain Shahi*, 27-30; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 59a-62a; *Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, 426b-427a; *Ali-ud-din*, 108a-109b; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 126-7; *Waris Shah*, 12-5; *Sarkār*, i, 211-33.

3. *Second Invasion, 1749-50*

Ahmad Shah Abdali was bent on retrieving his honour. He kept himself fully informed of the affairs of Delhi and the Panjab, and was determined to take advantage of the distracted state of the Mughal government. He started from Kandahar in the beginning of the cold weather, and crossed the Indus by the middle of December, 1749.

Muin-ul-Mulk expected no help from Delhi, on account of the carelessness of the Emperor and the rivalry of Wazir Safdar Jang, but he resolved to oppose the invader. Leaving Sayyid Evaz Khan and Diwan Lakhpatt Rai in charge of the capital, he encamped at Sohdera, 4 miles east of Wazirabad, on the Chenab. Meanwhile Abdali also reached the Chenab, and halted at Kopra. Ahmad Shah asked Muin to assign to him the revenues of the *Chahār Mahāl*, Gujrat Aurangabad, Pasrur and Sialkot, which had been made over to Nadir Shah by Muhammad Shah in 1739. Muin forwarded this letter to the Delhi Emperor begging reinforcements, and prolonged the negotiations. To his surprise the Mughal Emperor, instead of sending him any help, granted to Durani the revenues asked for. In view of the limitations of his own military resources, Muin concluded negotiations with the Abdali by handing over the royal mandate. After this reconnaissance, Ahmad Shah retired to his own country through Derah Ghazi Khan and Qalat.¹

The pusillanimity displayed by the Delhi Government strengthened the ambition of the Afghan monarch, who now resolved to seize the rich and fertile lands of northern India.

¹ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 46-8; *Miskin*, 53; *Bayān*, 174-5; *Zafar Namah*, 20a; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 98; *Siyār*, iii, 29-30; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 80a; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 151-3; *Irshad-ul-Mustaqim*, 294b; *Ibrat Miqal*, ii, 61b; *Ali-ud-din*, 111a; *Sohan Lal*, i, 129; *Ahmad Shah*, 865; *Sarkār*, i, 417-9; *Elliot*, viii, 114-5.

Sialkot contained 1,484 villages, Aurangabad 307 villages, Gujrat 581 villages and Pasrur 632 villages. Cf. *Sialkot District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 15, *Gujrat District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 17.

4. *Third Invasion and the Conquest of the Panjab and Kashmir, 1751-52*

The time for the payment of the promised annual tribute of the *Chahār Mahāl* had passed without anything being remitted to Kabul. The intrepid Ahmad Shah therefore decided to invade the Panjab. From Peshawar he sent Baru Khan in advance as his ambassador to the court of Lahore demanding the remittance of the revenues. Muin told him that no revenues were forthcoming owing to disturbances in the country. Ahmad Shah sent another agent Sukhjiwan Mal pressing for money. Muin expressed his inability to pay the full sum. He, however, paid him nine lakhs of rupees, promising to remit the balance on Abdali's immediate withdrawal to his home. Abdali took the money and continued his advance.

Muin crossed the Ravi at the head of 50,000 troops and 400 *jizairs*, and took up his position at the bridge of Shah Daula, 22 miles above Lahore on the Ravi. Abdali cleverly dashed towards the provincial capital. He cut into the rear of Muin, crossed the Ravi by the ferry of Ghazipur, and reached Lahore, *via* Niazbeg. He encamped near the tomb of Shah Blawal.¹

Muin hurried back to Lahore, and after some fighting entrenched himself under the city walls. Abdali besieged the town and decided to reduce Muin to capitulation by starvation. The siege continued for four months, and the whole country around Lahore within a radius of about 50 miles was laid waste. Owing to long campaign Muin's trenches became extremely unhealthy and full of foul and poisonous stench. The supply of water in the wells had been exhausted, while no food or fodder were available in the city. No reinforcements had come from Delhi to the defender of the province during these critical months.

¹ *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 83-5; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a; *Sohan Lal*, i, 132-3.

Muin decided to shift his camp about ten miles away; but this secret leaked out. On the 5th March, 1752, when Muin's troops came out of their trenches, they were fiercely assailed by the Afghans on all sides. A severe scuffle ensued in which Muin lost the day. He fearlessly faced the Abdali, and the Durrani King was so much struck by his boldness, frank manners and noble bearing that he reinstated Muin as his deputy in the viceroyalty of the Panjab. Ahmad Shah Abdali then sent his envoy, Qalandar Beg, to Emperor Ahmad Shah of Delhi for the cession of the Panjab. The Emperor granted audience to the envoy in the *Diwan-i-Khas* on the 13th April, 1752, and dismissed him by putting his seal to the treaty thus losing the most important frontier province of the Mughal Empire.

While his ambassador was away to Delhi, Ahmad Shah Durrani despatched a strong detachment to conquer Kashmir under Abdullah Khan, who easily overpowered Abdul Qasim Khan, the Mughal viceroy of the province. Ahmad Shah appointed Sukhjiwan Mal the Governor of Kashmir and Abdullah Khan his Deputy. The Abdali after this returned to Afghanistan.¹

Muin-ul-Mulk ruled over the Panjab in the name of the Durrani King though practically independent for a year and a half till the time of his death. Sukhjiwan Mal also owed nominal allegiance to Ahmad Shah, and the Abdali seldom interfered with them as long as he was sure that they maintained peace and order in their provinces. Hence no new changes were introduced in the administration, and the old system of the Mughals prevailed.

¹ *Miskin*, 79; *Husain Shahi*, 32-3; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 85-8; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 8; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 154; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 85a, 122a; *Delhi Chronicle*, 70, 71; *Selections from Peshwa's Daftar*, xxi, 53, 55; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shahi*, 93-5; *Siyār*, iii, 44; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114; *Narayan Kaul*, 183b-184a.

5. *Fourth Invasion and the Annexation of Sirhind Province, 1756-57*

Muin-ul-Mulk died on the 3rd November, 1753. His widow, the famous Mughlani Begam, put herself at the head of the provincial government. In March, 1756, she was made a captive by the Delhi Wazir, Imad-ul-Mulk, who appointed Adina Beg in charge of the province. The Begam invited Ahmad Shah Durrani to invade India promising to secure him crores of rupees from Delhi.¹

Abdali accepted the invitation. He left Kandahar in the autumn, crossed the Indus at Attock on the 15th November, reached Lahore on the 20th December, and crossed the Sutlej on the 10th January, 1757. On this occasion the Mughal Empire had been reduced to the lowest depth of wretchedness and the invader was offered no opposition whatsoever. Ahmad Shah entered Delhi on the 28th January. "From that day his troops commenced plundering and sacking the city mercilessly, and they kept on dragging away people's wives and daughters so cruelly that a large number of them overborne by the delicacy of their feelings preferred to commit suicide and God only knows the number and nature of all other violence committed in that unfortunate city for a month."²

Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir, was ordered to hand

¹ *Ali-ud-din*, 114b.

² *Sipār*, iii, 54. Cf. *Miskin*, 138

"برساکنان شهر ظلم و تعدی مردم لشکر شاه که بجز غارت و مردم آزاری هیچ نمی دانستند آنقدر بود که بگفتن و نوشت راست نیاید."

Cf. also *Khazan-i-Amira*, 99; *Irshad-ul-Mustqim*, 295a.

"زنان و دختران و پسران محبوسه را ایرانیان و افغانان و روهیله ها بطریق تمکاتف و ارمغان بولایت ایران و توران و سمرقند و بخارا و ترکستان و دیگر اطراف و اکفاف عالم فرستادند."

Farah Bakhsh, 38b.

over all his gold and jewels, and on his pleading poverty, he was openly disgraced, and his servants were severely beaten. Then Intizam-ud-daulah, the ex-Wazir, was summoned, and commanded to produce one crore of rupees immediately. He replied: "This moment beyond this one ring that I have on my finger, I have not control over even one rupee." He was threatened to be punished by pillory (چوبهائی قیچی), which was placed before him, declaring also that he would "issue an order for a beating with sticks." Intizam-ud-daulah stood there with his face white as a sheet. The Shah said: "This day will I have the money; I have heard that in the house of Qamar-ud-din Khan there lie stored twenty krors of rupees; and out of this accumulation this son of his has covenanted to pay two krors. I relinquished part, but this day I mean to realize one kror, be it by gentle means or by torture. Let the position of the treasure-store be pointed out; or if not, I will order a bastinadoing."

Intizam-ud-daulah replied: "Whatever treasure there was, my father caused to be buried within his mansion. The widow, Shulahpuri Begam knows about it." The Begam was immediately ordered to be produced. "This old lady, the daughter-in-law of one grand wazir, the widow of another, and the mother of a third, was told that unless she showed the spot, iron pins would be driven in underneath the nails of her fingers. She fainted at the threat, and on recovery pointed out the room of the buried hoard. After six hours of digging by a hundred pioneers, 16 lakhs in coins, besides golden, silver and gem-studded vessels, were found under the floor (4th February)."¹

Intizam-ud-daulah's women were stripped of everything. No noble was spared spoliation, the Mughlani Begam giving information as to the worth each of the courtiers was. The

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, pp. 47-8; *Sarkār*, ii, 100.

citizens of Delhi were deprived of all their riches, and thousands of men and women lost their lives under the torture. Hira Nand Johri, the prince of Jewellers, was reduced to beggary.¹

After thoroughly squeezing Delhi, Ahmad Shah marched southward. The fort of Ballabgarh was captured on the 3rd March, 1757. From this place the Afghans issued out to slaughter and plunder. Ghulam Hasan Samin, who was present in the Abdali's camp says, that they left the camp at midnight. One horseman took ten to twenty horses each attached to the tail of the horse in front. They came back at about 9 o'clock in the morning. All the horses were loaded with booty and girl captives were placed on that. Hundreds of men captives carried on their heads bundles of severed heads. All these heads were heaped before the chief minister's tent, where they were counted and the soldiers were paid five rupees per head. At the time of reckoning the heads of the male captives were also cut off. "Daily did this manner of slaughter and plundering proceed. And at night the shrieks of the women captives who were being ravished, deafened the ears of people."²

A fortnight earlier Ahmad Shah had sent his commander-in-chief Jahan Khan and the Rohilla chieftain Najib Khan to devastate Mathura, Brindaban and Agra. About Mathura Ghulam Hasan says: "Everywhere in lane and bazar lay the headless trunks of the slain; and the whole city was burning. Many buildings had been knocked down. A naked man emerged from the ruins and asked me for a little food. I gave him some money and asked: 'who art thou'? He said: 'I am a Musulman, I was a dealer in

¹ Husain Shahi, 37; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 9.

² *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, p. 60.

"و شب را از فریاد زنان که به اسیری آورده به آنها صحبت میکردند گوشهائی مردم گرمیشدند."

jewellery, my shop was a large one. In addition to precious stones and engraved and mounted goods, I had 4,000 rupees in cash in the shop. On the day of the slaughter the Shah's army suddenly appeared, when nobody had the least expectation of them; it was at dawn. A horseman, drawn sword in hand, came at me and tried to kill me. I said I was a Musulman. He said: 'Disclose your privities'. I undid my cloth. He continued: 'Whatever cash you have give to me that I may spare your life'. I gave him my 4,000 rupees. Another came and cut me on the stomach with his sabre. I fled and hid in a corner. My shop was emptied. For several days past I have had nothing to eat, but a few uncooked grains of corn. Camp followers come in day after day and knock down the houses. In many places buried treasure is discovered and carried off.'..... When I reached the bank of the Jamnah, I found it was fordable. The water flowing past was of a yellowish colour, as if polluted by blood. The man said: 'For seven days following the general slaughter, the water flowed of a blood-red colour. Now fourteen days have elapsed, and the colour of the water has turned yellow.' At the edge of the stream I saw a number of *Bairagi* and *Sunayasi* huts, huddled close together. These men are ascetics of the Hindu faith. In each hut lay a severed head with the head of a dead cow applied to its mouth and tied to it with a rope round its neck."

The same story is narrated of Brindaban: "Wherever you gazed you beheld heaps of slain; you could only pick your way with difficulty, owing to the quantity of bodies lying about and the amount of blood spilt. At one place we reached, we saw about two hundred dead children lying in a heap. Not one of the dead bodies had a head. The stench and fetor and effluvium in the air were such that it was painful to open your mouth or even draw a breath. Every one held his nose and stopped his mouth with his handkerchief while he spoke."¹

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, p. 62.

Agra was plundered by Jahan Khan at the head of 15,000 soldiers on the 21st March. About 2,000 persons were slain. Then he was suddenly recalled by the Abdali who was camping near Mathura. Jahan Khan joined him on the 24th March.

Nature came to the rescue of the unfortunate inhabitants where the Government of the country had utterly failed in its duty. The Afghans had to drink water of the Jumna which had been polluted by innumerable dead bodies. Consequently, cholera broke out in the Abdali's army, carrying off about 150 soldiers daily. "It took one hundred rupees to purchase one *ser* of tamarind, a drink of tamarinds being prescribed with benefit."¹

The Abdali was consequently forced to retreat, and he started on his homeward journey on the 28th March. Delhi was again plundered. A short while before he had married his son Timur Shah to the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II. Now he himself forcibly married Hazrat Begam, a 16 year old maiden daughter of Emperor Muhammad Shah. "On 5th April she was taken, decked as a bride, to Ahmad Shah's tents; Malika-i-zamani and Sahiba Mahal (widows of Muhammad Shah) and Muhtaram-un-nisa (a daughter of the late Emperor Ahmad and a nursling of Malika-i-zamani from her infancy) accompanied the weeping bride in exile out of India. Other Delhi princesses present in the retreating Afghan camp were Alamgir II's daughter Gauhar-un-nisa, the daughter of Dawar Bakhsh and great granddaughter of Aurangzib whom Nadir Shah had married to his son Nasrullah in 1739 and whom Ahmad Abdali had taken to his bed after the murder of Nadir Shah. With this party went 16 other ladies of the Delhi harem, but 400 maid-servants who were being dragged away with their mistresses escaped from the way and dispersed to their homes."²

¹ *Indian Antiquary*, 1907, pp. 64-5.

² *Sarkār*, ii, 128.

The Afghan booty from India was enormous. "Abdali's own goods were loaded on 28,000 camels, elephants, mules, bullocks and carts, while 200 camel-loads of property were taken by Muhammad Shah's widows who accompanied him, and these too belonged to him. Eighty thousand horse and foot followed him, each man carrying away spoils. His cavalry returned on foot, loading their booty on their chargers. For securing transport, the Afghan king left no horse or camel in any one's house, not even a donkey. The guns he had brought for taking the Jat forts, he abandoned because their draught-cattle had to be loaded with his plunder, and the Jat Rajah took these guns away into his fort. In Delhi not a sword was left with anybody."¹

Abdali annexed the Sirhind division to his kingdom which he placed in the charge of Abdul Samad Khan. Najib-ud-daulah his plenipotentiary (*Mukhtar*) was left in Delhi. On his way he obtained from Najabat Khan, the *Zamindar* of Kunjpura, a sum of 20 lakhs. He appointed his son Timur Shah the Viceroy of the Panjab with Jahan Khan as his deputy, and then he retired to Afghanistan.²

Timur Shah was only eleven years old. Hence the work of government was exclusively carried on by Jahan Khan. The Afghan General was a seasoned warrior, but a poor administrator. Jahan Khan established military rule in the Panjab, and directed his attention chiefly to collect land revenue and other taxes from the people. Jahan Khan mistrusted the Sikhs and Adina Beg Khan, the able Governor of the Jullundur Doāb. He provoked their anger repeatedly, which led to their union. It was difficult for the Afghans to resist the combined forces of the Sikhs and Adina Beg. The result was that they created complete confusion in the country, and Jahan Khan found himself incapable of coping with the situation. "Whatever order," says Miskin, "that

¹ S. P. D., ii, 71; *Sarkār*, ii, 103.

² S. P. D., ii, 71.

was there, also disappeared."¹ Remarking about Timur Shah's army and the boldness of the Sikhs he states: "After this every force in whatever direction it was sent came back defeated and vanquished. Even the environs of Lahore were not safe. Every night thousands of Sikhs used to fall upon the city and plunder the suburbs lying outside the walls of Lahore, but no force was sent out to repel them, and the city gates were closed one hour after nightfall. It brought extreme disgrace to the Government and utter lawlessness prevailed."²

Early in 1758, Adina Beg Khan invited the Marathas from Delhi to expel the Afghans from the Panjab, and to annex the country to their dominions. He offered to them easy and tempting terms which were readily accepted. In the beginning of March, 1758, began the Maratha invasion of the Panjab. Sirhind fell after a short resistance on the part of Abdul Samad Khan, the Governor of the place. On the approach of the Marathas towards Lahore, Jahan Khan evacuated the capital on the 9th April, and retired to Afghanistan. Jahan Khan was overtaken by the Maratha advance-guard at Serai Kachchi, 36 miles north-west of Lahore; but he managed to escape. His camp was, however, plundered on the eastern bank of the Chenab, and many Afghans were taken prisoners.³ Afterwards the Marathas advanced as far as Attock, which was held by them in actual occupation for about four months. Subsequently they appear to have crossed the Indus and stationed themselves at least for a time at Peshawar.⁴

¹ *Miskin*, 166.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Tarikh-i-Alamgir Sani*, 312; *Miskin*, 178-9; *Karnam-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 1.

⁴ Cf. *Dabholkar Collection*, a Marathi letter dated the 4th June, 1758; S.P.D., xxi, 163, dated the 5th September, 1758; *Chandrachuda Daftar* published by B. I. S. M., in 1920, Letter No. 49, p. 56; *Selection from Chandrachuda Daftar*, published by the Gwalior Records Department in

6. *Fifth Invasion and the Defeat of the Marathas in the Third Battle of Panipat, 1759-61*

The Maratha power had reached its zenith by this time, and they had become supreme from the borders of Berar to the banks of the Indus. Ahmad Shah Abdali's plenipotentiary in India, Najib-ud-daulah, was hard pressed by them and expelled from Delhi in September, 1757. He was then besieged in Shukartal.¹ He wrote to his master: "All this misery has been inflicted by the infidel Marathas on all

1934, p. 4; also Delhi News-letters, styled *Akhbar-i-Darbar-i-Mu'alla*, dated the 20th December, 1758:—

"رسیدن توکوچی وغیره سلاحداران فرستاد هائی راؤ ملہار جی
ہولکر و راؤ جنکوچی سندھیہ در پشاور"

[The arrival at Peshawar of the *silahdar* Tukoji and others who were sent by Rao Malharji Holkar and Rao Jankoji Sindhia.]

"خبر رسیدہ کہ نرسوجی پنڈت و توکوچی وغیره سلاحداران
فرستاد ہائی راؤ ملہار جی ہولکر و راؤ جنکوچی سندھیہ کہ
از پشاور بموجب طلب میر حسن علی خان و خواجہ میرزا خان
عازم لاہور شدہ بودند"

[The news arrived that Narsoji Pandit and Tukoji and other *silahdars* sent by Rao Malharji Holkar and Rao Jankoji Sindhia left Peshawar for Lahore as desired by Mir Hasan Ali Khan and Khwajah Mirza Khan.]

Another letter dated the 15th April, 1759 says:—

"خبر رسید کہ صاحب جی پٹیل از پشاور کوچ کردہ بصوبہ
لاہور داخل شدہ توکو جی کھنڈو جی کدم وغیره سلاحداران
راؤ ملہار جی و راؤ جنکو جی سندھیہ کہ در آن جا اقامت می
داشتند ملاقات نمودند."

[Received the news that Sahibji Patel (Sabaji Patil Shinde) having returned from Peshawar to the province of Lahore met Takoji Khandoji Kadam and other *silahdars* of Rao Malharji Holkar and Rao Jankoji Sindhia, who were stationed there.]

This information is kindly supplied by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, the well-known Marathā historian.

¹ Shukartal is a small fort and village in the Muzaffarnagar district of U.P., about half a mile from the right bank of the Ganges.

our people. You are the Emperor of Muslims. It is your duty to remedy this affair." The Abdali replied: "I am engaged this year in this country because on one side of me Nasir Khan has rebelled, while Darwesh Ali Khan of Herat has risen in revolt on another. God willing, when I am free from the entanglement in this country, I shall remedy your business."¹

Hardly was he free from these troubles at home when the news arrived that his son Timur Shah had been driven out of the Panjab by the Marathas who had annexed this province to their dominions. Then came a letter from the Mughal Emperor, Alamgir II: "Imad-ul-Mulk is thinking of killing me. If your majesty come this side, I may be saved from the hand of this tyrant, otherwise there is no possibility of safety either of me or of my sons."²

Meanwhile Najib-ud-daulah won over most of the Indian Muslim nobles, took written undertakings from them and forwarded all such letters to the Durrani, who "promised to come to India in winter and do what was due to Islam."³

With his enormous hordes⁴ Ahmad Shah left for India early in autumn of 1759 and arrived at Lahore in October. On the approach of these overwhelming forces the Marathas fled from the Panjab without striking a blow. Leaving Haji Karimdad Khan, nephew of his prime minister Shah Wali Khan, in charge of the Panjab, he arrived at Sirhind on the 27th November, and made straight for Delhi.⁵

Imad-ul-Mulk, the Delhi Wazir, fearing that Alamgir II and Intizam-ud-daulah would join the Abdali against him

¹ *Nur-ud-din*, 19b.

² *Tarikh-i-B'ad Nadiriya*, 124.

³ *Nur-ud-din*, 21a-b; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 101.

⁴ 60,000 horse according to *Imad-i-Saadat*, 116a and *S.P.D.*, xxvii, 245; and 55,000 according to *Rajwade*, i, 139.

⁵ *Ali-ud-din*, 119b-120a.

murdered both of them on the 29th and 30th November respectively. He placed on the throne another prince under the title of Shahjahan II.¹

Dattaji Sindhia who had besieged Najib-ud-daulah at Shukartal raised the siege on the 8th December, and crossed over the Jumna at Ramra Ghat near Panipat on the 20th December. The Abdali was at Ambala. The advance-guards of both came to a sharp engagement on the 24th December near Taraori in which the Marathas were defeated with 400 slain. The Abdali crossed the Jumna in the night at Buriya Ghat and entered the Doab where Najib joined him at Saharanpur, and they now marched to Delhi.²

Dattaji realizing the weakness of his position quickly fell back on Delhi and reached Barari Ghat on the Jumna, 10 miles north of Delhi. Ahmad Shah, who had been joined by Hafiz Rahmat Khan, Dunde Khan, Sadulla Khan, Mulla Sadar and others, lay encamped at Luni, 6 miles north-east of Delhi. The Jumna lay between them. The water in it at this time was at the lowest level,³ and its banks and the islands in the bed were covered with thick overgrowth of *Jhau* trees. Taking advantage of these, Najib followed by the Durrani crossed the river at Barari Ghat on the 9th January, 1760, and suddenly fell upon the Marathas. Dattaji was slain, his nephew Jankoji was wounded, and the Marathas were completely routed.⁴

From Barari Ghat the Marathas fled to the south-west and gathered at Kot Putli (99 miles south-west of Delhi), under Jankoji, and were joined by Malhar Rao from Raj-

¹ *Delhi Chronicle*, 166-7; *Mishkin*, 200-2; *Husain Shahi*, 46; *Siyār*, iii, 62-3; *S.P.D.*, xxvii, 245.

² *S.P.D.*, ii, 109, 111, 112, 117; xxi, 178; *Nur-ud-din*, 28a-29a.

³ Its bed varies from half a mile to a mile in width, of which the stream occupies only a few hundred yards in the cold weather. *Imperial Gazetteer, Punjab*, i, 302.

⁴ *S.P.D.*, ii, 114; xxi, 181, 182, 185; xxvii, 247; *Nur-ud-din*, 30b; *Mishkin*, 202-3; *Husain Shahi*, 50-1; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 102; *Siyār*, iii, 65.

putana. They decided to harass the enemy by guerilla warfare and by ravaging the country of the Rohillas. Malhar, the ablest Maratha cavalry leader, took charge of the vanguard. The Abdali marched to Rewari (50 miles south-west of Delhi), and Malhar easily succeeded in giving him a slip. He came to Bahadurgarh, 40 miles north of Rewari. Four days later on the 26th February, 1760, he crossed the Jumna, and entered the Doab with the object of intercepting Najib's treasure of ten lakhs on its way to the Afghan camp. But he was overtaken unexpectedly by Jahan Khan who dashed over 100 miles in the incredibly short time of 14 hours, and Malhar was routed at Sikandarabad (36 miles south-east of Delhi) on the 4th March, 1760.¹

Abdali encamped near Aligarh for the hot weather and the rainy season and deputed Najib-ud-daulah to Lucknow to win over Shuja-ud-daulah who joined Ahmad Shah at the head of 30,000 horse and 10,000 foot.²

The Peshwa was not disheartened at the defeat of Sindhia and Holkar. He sent a large army from the Deccan under the chief command of his son Vishwas Rao. The actual control, however, was given to his brother Sadashiv Bhau, a young man of thirty, but a man of ripe experience with a reputation for courage and statesmanship. He also had the assistance of a Muslim officer, Ibrahim Khan Gardi, trained by no less a personage than the celebrated Bussy, and who commanded a vast park of artillery.³

The Marathas had to face many difficulties from the outset. They had to resist a formidable coalition of all the

¹ S.P.D., ii, 120, 121; xxi, 187, 188; *Nur-ud-din*, 31b; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 103; *Mishin*, 202-3; *Siyār*, iii, 65; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 58; *Ghulam Ali*, i, 20-3; *Shamlu*, 28.

² *Nur-ud-din*, 32a-b; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 124a-125b; *Siyar*, iii, 65; *Shamlu*, 29-30.

³ *Rajwade*, i, 167, 168.

Muslim chiefs of northern India who had joined Ahmad Shah for the extirpation of the Marathas. The Marathas, on the other hand, did not try to rally all the Hindus under their banner. Not a single Rajput Raja joined them. On the contrary, the Hindu landlords of the Gangetic Doāb rose against them. The Sikhs were never invited to co-operate with them, though Alha Singh of Patiala gave them some help when they were closely confined in the field at Panipat. Even Surajmal,¹ the wisest and shrewdest diplomat of the time, could not be persuaded to unite with them. Thus they had not a single friend in the midst of a hostile population. They were also encumbered by a large train of baggage, heavy artillery and their families. The lack of boats to cross the rivers which were in flood at the time they approached Delhi was a further impediment. Still greater disadvantage lay in Bhau's complete ignorance of the essential details of this campaign as he was given no time for preparation. He had never been to northern India, and knew nothing about its people and climate. Besides, he was a man of short temper, and entirely disregarded the advice of old captains who possessed experience of fighting in northern India.²

The Bhau crossed the river Chambal by the end of May and a little afterwards reached the bank of the river Ghambir to the south of Agra. He ardently desired to cross the Jumna to get at the Abdali, but he could not easily cross the Ghambir, a little stream which had been flooded by early rains. The Marathas then marched to Delhi. The

¹ The Bhau was carrying on correspondence with Surajmal who advised the Maratha chief to leave their women, extra camp-followers, and all unnecessary baggage either in the fort of Jhansi or Gwalior, and to march to northern India lightly equipped. He also offered to place four forts of his own at the disposal of the Maratha chief for this purpose; but the Bhau ignored this wise counsel. *Karnamah-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 2b-3a.

² S.P.D., ii. 124, 127; xxi, 190; xxvii, 258; *Rajwade*, i, 222; *Imad-i-Saadat*, 85a-b.

city fell on the 22nd July, and the fort capitulated on the 2nd August, 1760.¹

This success turned Bhau's head and he rejected all peace proposals of the enemy by offering terms rather impossible to be accepted.² The capture of Delhi, however, proved fruitless. No food, no fodder and no money were procurable. The soldiers lived on scanty supplies of rice and chiefs on gram.³ The Bhau therefore left Naro Shankar in charge of Delhi, and himself marched towards Sirhind. He arrived at Kunjpura, an Afghan fort on the bank of the Jumna, (80 miles north of Delhi), strongly garrisoned by its founder Najabat Khan and by Abdul Samad Khan, the ex-Governor of Sirhind, who was stationed there with 10,000 troops. This "castle was a robbers' den where other Afghan freebooters and Abdali agents of that tract used to lodge their booty and find a secure asylum in need. Enormous quantities of grain were stored here for the Shah's army across the Jamuna."⁴ The fort was taken on the 17th October, and Abdul Samad and Najabat Khan were slain. Much booty was acquired from the fort. The Dusehra festival fell on the 19th October, and it was celebrated there with great splendour.⁵

At this point the Bhau committed the greatest blunder in not adequately guarding the fords on the Jumna. The loss of Delhi and Kunjpura was too much for the Durrani. The

¹ *Nur-ud-din*, 33a; *Rajwade*, i, 222, 223, 224; *S.P.D.*, ii, 130, 131; xxi, 193; xxvii, 255, 257, 258; *Siyār*, iii, 66.

² *Rajwade*, i, 236, 237, 246, 247.

³ *S.P.D.*, ii, 130, 131; xxi, 193; xxvii, 255, 257, 258.

⁴ *Sarkar*, ii, 268.

⁵ At this time Kunjpura estate consisted of 150 villages valued at 5 or 6 lakhs of rupees. Cf. *Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 42.

S. P. D., xxi, 192, 193, 198; *Rajwade*, i, 255, 258, 259, 260, 265; *Nur-ud-din*, 34a-b; *Miskin*, 225-6; *Shamlu*, 31; *Husain Shahi*, 56-7; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 60.

river was still unfordable, but he was burning with rage. He ordered his army to march under the guidance of Shuja-ud-daulah to the passage of Baghpat (20 miles north of Delhi). The troops were not prepared to undertake this dangerous task, but he led them to the bank of the river and said, "Drive your horses into the river just where we are standing." The artillery was tied to the waists of elephants. The opposite bank was found so muddy that neither man nor horse could cross it. Ahmad Shah ordered all men to bring some branch, grass or leaves, whatever one could find and to deposit it on the mud. The result was that in an hour's time a height of two yards was effected and the entire army passed over with ease. Ahmad Shah then sent one detachment in pursuit of the Maratha guard stationed six *kos* off, all of whom were slain. These events took place on the 23rd and 24th October.¹

The Bhau was extremely surprised at the daring and agility of the Durrani, and he immediately fell back on Panipat. He fixed his head-quarters close to the town while Ahmad Shah encamped three *kos* off. The Bhau enclosed his camp as well as the town with a ditch sixty feet wide and twelve feet deep, and mounted his guns on the parapet. The Durrani defended his encampment by an abattis.

The contending armies were, on the whole, equally matched. The Marathas were superior in artillery and the allied Muslims in infantry and generalship. The opponents lay here encamped for a period of two and a half months, and frequent skirmishes took place between them.²

¹ *Nur-ud-din*, 36a-38b; *Rajwade*, i, 260, 261; *Husain Shahi*, 58-60.

² *Shamlu*, 32-3; *Sarkar*, ii, 285-91.

The notable Durrani generals who participated in the battle of Panipat were the following:—Barkhurdar Khan, Shah Vali Khan, Jahan Khan, Shah Pasand Khan, Nasir Khan Baluch, Zamzala Khan, and Murad Khan Irani. Among the Indian chiefs were included Shuja-ud-daulah, Najib-ud-daulah, Dunde Khan, Hafiz Rahmat Khan and Ahmad Khan Bangash. Cf. *Karnamah-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 6a-b.

The Bhau was constantly receiving the supply of grain from Naro Shankar, the *Qiladar* of Delhi. Najib with the approval of the Durrani sent his troops who defeated Naro Shankar's infantry, and the direct route from Delhi to Panipat was entirely closed. Whenever the Bhau paid high wages to *Banjaras* (the grain, salt and grass carriers on bullocks), they brought supplies from Delhi in the night by some obscure path; but on account of strict vigilance of the enemy this method was also stopped.¹

In retaliation the Bhau ordered Govind Ballal to devastate the territory of the Rohilla chiefs in the Gangetic Doab, and thus starve the Durrani by cutting off his supplies. In this admirable plan the Bhau was to be sorely disappointed. Govind Ballal had neither the capacity nor the means to execute this bold adventure. He marched with nearly 12,000 horse, came as far as Meerut, and stopped all supplies to the Durrani. The Afghan army was naturally hard-pressed and coarse flour was sold in the camp three seers to the rupee. Ahmad Shah sent Atai Khan with 14,000 strong. He covered 60 miles in the night and at daybreak fell like lightning on the camp of Govind Ballal. The Marathas were seized with panic. Govind Ballal was slain and his troops routed.²

Abdali thus cut off all the ways of receiving supplies by the Marathas on the side of the Jumna; but Alha Singh of Patiala contrived to send provisions. Abdali sent an expedition into his territory and closed this way also.³ Consequently, there was a great scarcity of provisions and

On the side of the Marathas there were Ibrahim Khan Gardi, Jankoji Sindhia, Malhar Rao Holkar, Umaji Gaekwar, Jaswant Rao Panwar, Samar Bahadur, son of Pilaji Jadun, Raja Nihal Singh Dev. Balwant Rao, Vishwas Rao, Antaji Mankeshwar and Raja Bahar Das. *Ibid*; 6b-7a.

¹ *Nur-ud-din*, 41a.

² *Nur-ud-din*, 45b-46b; *Shamlu*, 33-4; *Siyār*, iii, 68; *Husain Shahi*, 63-5; *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*, 61-2; *Karnamah-i-Ahmad Shah Durrani*, 8a-b.

³ *Khazan-i-Amira*, 107; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 113a.

forage in the Maratha camp; and under this hardship, the Bhau, a man of resolution and iron will began to give way. He opened negotiations for peace and Hafiz Rahmat Khan who was jealous of Najib's power took up his cause, but through Najib's activity the negotiations for a peaceful settlement fell through.¹

The Marathas had gone without food for two days. The soldiers were clamouring for an action, and the Bhau, after a midnight council resolved to fight. Early next morning each person took a betel leaf and with horses starving for forage sallied from their camp and fought the great battle with wild but futile gallantry on the 13th January, 1761. Up to the noon the Marathas fought desperately and showed superior talent. Then the Bhau on horseback and Vishwas Rao, the Peshwa's son, on an elephant delivered a fierce charge very nearly gaining the day. Ahmad Shah at this juncture summoned his reserves who moved from three sides, encircled the Marathas and brought the Bhau's vanguard under the musket fire all at once and swept away their firm stand. This caused a great tumult. Just at this time a bullet hit Vishwas Rao who was in reality the chief of the Maratha forces. The Bhau saw his feet dangling on the side of the elephant's head. He became broken-hearted, felt disgusted with his life and dashed forward into the ranks of the Durrani with his followers. This was the thickest part of the battle and Ahmad Shah was putting his energies to the utmost in repulsing the enemy. The Durrani swivels were playing in full force. The special regiments of the Khans which were kept as reserves were sent for and under the terrible effect of their constant fire the Marathas began to retreat. The Bhau was slain and his head was cut off.

The Marathas began to flee in all directions; and the entire army of Afghans, Mughals, Robillas and Shuja-ud-

¹ *Kashi Raj*, 19-21; *Nur-ud din*, 43b-45b.

daulah fell upon them and plundering commenced. Malhar escaped in safety through the kindness of Najib. Jankoji Sindhia and Antaji Mankeshwar were slain by their Muslim captors. Mahadji Sindhia, while flying, was wounded by an Afghan and he became lame for life. The whole peasantry of the neighbourhood joined in plundering and killing the Deccanis. Even the peasant women could not resist the temptation of such a loot. The Maratha losses were enormous. Nearly 30,000 were slain, 22,000 both men and women were taken slaves; while 2 lakh draught cattle, several thousand camels, 500 elephants and cash and jewellery beyond calculation fell into the hands of the victors. "Every trooper of the Shah brought away ten, and sometimes twenty camels laden with booty." So shocking was the news to the Peshwa that in the course of a month and a half he lost 64 lbs. in weight, and within six months he expired.

Having achieved this most splendid victory, Ahmad Shah bedecked with Koh-i-Noor and other precious diamonds, visited the following day the tomb of Bu Ali Qalandar to offer thanksgiving to God. After a time he started for the imperial capital where he arrived on the 29th January, and put up in Mumtaz Mahal's place. Here he allowed his weary soldiers a respite of nearly two months. This time again the Shah plundered the nobles and his troops squeezed the people. Ahmad Shah left for Afghanistan on the 22nd March, 1761.

X While passing through the Panjab Ahmad Shah was frequently molested by the Sikhs. "As soon as he had passed the Sutledge, the Sicks began to plunder the stragglers from his camp, which he forbore to resent at that time, his army being loaded with plunder; however, to secure his camp from insult, he every night threw up a slight work round it, and in this manner he continued his march to the Attock, the Sicks following him all the way."¹

¹ Browne, ii, 22.

The Durrani victory at Panipat shattered the Maratha dreams of extending their rule to the Panjab. Only two powers, the Durrani and the Sikhs, were left in the field to contend for the possession of the land of the five rivers; and Ahmad Shah, therefore, aimed the next blow against his bearded enemies.

7. *Sixth Invasion and the Sikh Carnage, 1762*

Ahmad Shah retired from the Panjab in May, 1761, leaving behind Khwajah Mirza Khan in charge of Chahār Mahāl, Khwajah Abed Khan in Lahore, Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan Afridi in the Jullundur Doab and Zain Khan in Sirhind.

† The Sikhs proved more than a match for Abdali's deputies. About 40,000 of them collected on this side of the Chenab, and defeated and killed Khwajah Mirza Khan.¹ Then they marched upon the Jullundur Doab, and instantly ousted both the Afghan officers.² The Sikhs thereafter turned to Zain Khan and plundered Sirhind. Here they were greatly opposed by Bhikhan Khan, the Afghan chief of Malerkotla. The Sikhs consequently raised the siege and hastened to Malerkotla, and laid waste the entire territory.³

¹ *Miskin*, 237.

"آنکه در تمام ملک سکھان سایر و داور بودند و پیش ازین نواب
خواجه مرزا خان هم معه یک هزار سوار و پیاده از دست چهل هزار
سکھان جنگیده شهید شده بودند"

² *Ibid.*

"سعادت خان و صادق خان افغان آفریدی که از طرف احمد شاه
درانی حاکم دوآبه بودند آن را هم سکھان چون مگس از شیر
از آن سرزمین بر آورده هزیمت دادند"

³ "The following year, the Sikhs to the number of about forty thousand horse, ravaged the whole territory of Malnair (Maler), in revenge for the assistance given by Hinghun (Bhikhan) Khan to the Durranny Aumil (Zain Khan). *Browne*, ii, 23.

Ahmad Shah on reaching Afghanistan sent his general Nur-ud-din to fight the Sikhs, but he was defeated and driven away by Charat Singh¹ (grandfather of Ranjit Singh). On this Khwajah Abed Khan, the Governor of Lahore, besieged Gujranwala, the head-quarters of Charat Singh; but in this undertaking he miserably failed, and saved his life by fleeing to Lahore.² These successes so emboldened the Sikhs that under the leadership of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia (founder of Kapurthala house) they attacked Lahore, defeated and killed Khwajah Abed, and struck their own coin.³

After a time the Sikhs laid siege to Jandiala, because the Hindu chief of the place, Aqil Das, always helped the Durrani against them. They must have captured the fort, had not their efforts been foiled by the suspension of shanks of beef from the fort walls. Overpowered by their religious scruples, the Sikhs raised the siege, and retired towards Sirhind, and got busy in fighting against Zain Khan near Malerkotla.⁴

Ahmad Shah Abdali, on hearing of these outrages in his province of the Panjab, was highly incensed at the Sikhs. He resolved to crush this menace once for all, as he had done in the case of the Marathas the year previous. He hurriedly arrived at Jandiala only to find that the Sikhs had retired across the Beas and the Sutlej. With a lightly

¹ *Sohan Lal*, ii, 6.

² *Khuswaqt Rai*, 94.

³ *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114. For an account of this coin *vide* Appendix.

⁴ *Ali-ud-din*, 123b; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 16-7; *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 145; *Husain Shahi*, 77;—

”سگان از کل پنجاب جمع شده قریب هفتاد هشتاد هزار سوار فراهم آمده قلعه چندیالہ را کہ ہفت کروہ از امرتسر فاصلہ دارد محاصره نموده اند و محصوران حصار کہ مطیع الاسلام و فقراء نانک شاہی سامع بانگ و صلوات اند از دست اینہا بہ تنگ آمدہ رانہائی گوشت گاؤ را بر فسیل قلعه ایستادہ کردہ اند“

equipped force he made one of the most rapid marches he had ever undertaken.

The Sikhs lay encamped at village Kup (22 miles south of Ludhiana) near Malerkotla. They were roughly about 50,000 in number.¹ Their *bahir* consisting of camp, arms, ammunition, kitchens, provisions, families and servants etc., was placed at Garma Pind, four miles distant. They were absolutely in the dark about Ahmad Shah Abdali's presence in the Panjab, owing to advanced winter as it was generally not the time for the invasion, and so they had taken no precautions whatsoever to protect them. In the Panjab there was no other superior force to them, and considering themselves masters of the situation they were fighting with an easy mind.

Miskin present in the battle-field says :—"Sardar Zain Khan at the head of 10 to 15 thousand horse and foot lay encamped at Malerkotla. The Sikhs were stationed 7 *kos* distant. One night (4-5 February) the Durrani courtiers informed (Zain Khan) that Ahmad Shah Abdali had crossed both the rivers of the Doab, and would attack the Sikhs the following day, and that he (Zain Khan) should keep the Sikhs engaged in fighting in the morning (evidently to check their flight). But the Sikhs also got this intelligence, and they tried to escape. Qasim Khan had already been ordered to begin the fight. We also arrived to oppose them. The Sikhs took to flight. We pursued them for half a *kos*. Just then the Sikh cavalry turned aside from the direction of Ahmad Shah and dashed upon us. Qasim Khan could not stand the heavy onslaught and fled away to Malerkotla in spite of my protests. I retired to the left. Meanwhile the Sikhs again fled away (to Garma Pind to save their baggage). I joined Murtaza

¹ Two lakhs according to *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114; *Si-yār*, iii, 74; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 171; and 80,000 according to *Husain Shahi*, 82; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 17; but 50,000 according to *Miskin*, 241 (present in the battle).

Khan Bharaich, one of Zain Khan's officers, who stood his ground on a small eminence at the head of 500 horse and foot. Just at this moment the Shah's army arrived and taking Murtaza Khan's contingent for a body of the Sikhs¹ besieged us. Among our people I was dressed in a cap. I left them, went to the Shah's men, and told them all about it. Ahmad Shah Durrani was satisfied with my explanation, whilst his own scouts also brought him the same intelligence."²

Ahmad Shah directed his attention to the Sikhs, checked their retreat, and cut off all the ways of escape. The Afghans fell upon the Sikhs shouting dreadful howls, and cries of "faith! the faith! kill *kafirs*! this way brothers! quick! quick! kill these infidel dogs", rose higher and louder. The Sikhs were seized with a sudden panic, and instead of fighting a pitched battle they decided to flee while fighting. Under orders of Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Charat Singh Sukarchakia the Sikhs formed themselves into a solid square, and the fight commenced.

Jassa Singh sent his messengers to Garma Pind ordering the *bahir* to move towards Barnala. The camp had proceeded only five miles, when Ahmad Shah ordered Shah Vali Khan, Bhikhan Khan of Malerkotla and Zain Khan, in a body of 8,000, to pursue the Sikh baggage train. It was attacked, and a large number of men, women and children were massacred.

The main body of the Sikhs was putting up one of the

¹ Indian Muslims were ordered to wear grass, blades of green wheat or barley or green leaves of trees on their heads to enable the Durrani soldiers to distinguish them from Sikhs, who with their flowing beards, long, loose shirts and heavy turbans had a great resemblance with the Muslims. Their only difference lay in trousers and Sikh drawers; but on horseback in the thick of the fight this did not serve as a prominently distinguishing badge. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 17.

² *Miskin*, 241-2.

toughest struggles they had ever made. On learning that their baggage train had been assailed, they quickened their speed, and through a weak point galloped forward and joined their *bahir*. The Durrani, however, took advantage of the slight disorder in their ranks, and slaughtered many Sikhs. On reaching their camp the Sikhs again threw themselves into order, and their so suddenly arranging themselves in a regular formation drew admiration even from the Abdali.¹

The Abdali now aimed at pushing himself between their main body and the baggage train, and four selected contingents made a sudden dash upon them. Here again a fierce action took place. Several Sikh chiefs, particularly Jassa Singh Ahluwalia and Charat Singh Sukarchakia hastened to this place, and encouraged their brethren to continue fighting unabated. The enemy admired their wonderful swordsmanship and marvelled at their sprightliness, strength and skill. But ultimately the Durrani were successful and the main body of the Sikhs was separated from their baggage train, and thousands of Sikhs were cut to pieces.²

The main body of the Sikhs, being free from encumbrances increased their speed of retreating, and till afternoon they covered nearly 20 miles. The sun had begun to decline on a short wintry day. The Afghans were completely exhausted by a journey of 150 miles and the hard fighting of the day. They had now reached by a pond of water near Qutba village. Both the armies rushed to the edge of the water. On one side the Sikhs were drinking water, and on the other the Durrani. The general engagement between the two forces had almost come to an end; but skirmishes continued. The Sikhs took advantage of this situation and galloped off to Barnala (25 miles southwest of Malerkotla) and, but for a straggler here and there,

¹ *Ratan Singh*, 445-7; *Miskin*, 242.

² *Ratan Singh*, 448-53.

they were clear of the danger zone. By evening the Sikhs were in a desert. Ahmad Shah gave up the pursuit in order to give rest to his exhausted troops. This battle is known by the name of *Ghallughara* or bloody carnage in which about 12,000 Sikhs were killed.¹

Ahmad Shah was now in the territory of Alha Singh of Patiala who was ordered to wait upon the Abdali. On his delaying compliance, Ahmad Shah stormed his forts of Barnala and Dhundadhura. Alha Singh realizing the futility of his attempt presented himself before the Abdali. He was immediately imprisoned and ordered to rid himself of the most visible symbol of Sikhism by getting himself clean shaved; but he was saved from this calamity by the friendly intervention of Shah Vali Khan on the payment of a large sum of tribute.²

Ahmad Shah returned to Lahore, and on his way at

¹ The Sikh losses in this battle are variously estimated: *Miskin*, 243 (25,000); *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114 (29,000); *Siyār*, iii, 74 (20,000); *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a (22,000); *Husain Shahi*, 83 (30,000); *Forster*, i, 319 (25,000); *Malcolm*, 98 (upwards of 20,000); *Tarikh-i-Ahmad*, 17 (30,000); *Tarikh-i-Ali*, 146 (20,000); *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 146 (20,000); *Ahmad Shah*, 885 (17,000); *Prinsep*, 24 (25 to 30,000); *M'Gregor*, i, 132 (17,000); *Cunningham*, 109 (12 to 25,000); *Hugel*, 271 (20 to 30,000); *Ganesh Das*, 200 (30,000); *Ali-ud-din*, 124a (30,000); *Ratan Singh*, 457 (30,000); *Gyan Singh*, 827 (13,000); *Shamshir Khalsa*, 112 (10 to 12,000); *Karam Singh*, 221 (15 to 20,000); *Sarkar*, ii, 486 (10,000).

A Marathi letter written from Shamli 20 days after the battle reproduced in *Rajwade*, vi, 465, says that five to seven thousand Sikhs were slain.

² *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 171-2; *Ali-ud-din*, 124b.

”شاهنشاهی فرمود کہ موسر او تراش نمایند او عرض کرد کہ موسر خود را خریدم مع نمایم شاه را عرض کردند کہ آلا موسر خود خریدم مع نمایم از موقف جلال فرمان صادر شد کہ بپرسید چه میدهد او گفت کہ لکن روپیہ قیمت موہائی خود میدهم فرمودند کہ لکن روپیہ بگیرند و او را خلاص سازند“.

Amritsar decided to blow up with gunpowder the sacred buildings of the Sikhs now known as Darbar Sahib. His pacific chief minister, Shah Vali Khan, pleaded against this move, but the Indian Muslim chiefs, then in attendance upon him, particularly Yaqub Ali Khan and Najib-ud-daulah, urged him not to desist from such a noble design, and Ahmad Shah destroyed the tank and the temple, and polluted them with cows entrails and blood¹.

The Abdali reached Lahore on the 3rd March, 1762. He brought fifty cart-loads of Sikh heads from Kup. They were displayed on the city gates and the walls. He also "caused the walls of the principal mosques which had been polluted by the Sicques, to be washed with their blood, that the contamination might be removed, and the ignominy offered to the religion of Mahomet, expiated."²

Ahmad Shah stayed in the Panjab for nine months more in order to suppress any further rising of the Sikhs. In July he set up his camp at Kalanaur in the Gurdaspur district to avoid the oppressive heat of Lahore. The Sikhs, however, gave him no peace, and he was very much annoyed at their guerilla tactics. "The Sikhs created disturbances everywhere, and plundered the country. The Shah despatched his nobles in every direction to punish them; but they did not fight with a will, and being easily defeated came back. This made the Sikhs stronger and bolder, and they began to commit depredations to the very suburbs of Lahore."³

During these expeditions if a Sikh fell into the hands of

¹ *Ali-ud-din*, 125b; *Bute Shah*, 15a; *Forster*, i, 320; *Nur-ud-din*, 57a; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 172; *Ahmad Shah*, 888; *Gulzar-i-Shahi*, 525.

² *Forster*, i, 320; *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 95.

³ *Ahmad Shah*, 887-8. At this time Miskin travelled from Sirhind to Sialkot and back. He says that the Sikhs were growing stronger and stronger everyday, while the Afghans were laying waste the whole country, and dearth of flour prevailed everywhere, which was sold at

the Afghans and was asked to part with his arms, he would never do so boldly declaring that wearing arms was a part of his religion, as saying prayers was with Muslims and wearing a sacred thread with Brahmins. To give a tit for tat to the Abdali, the Sikhs destroyed mosques and tombs and used them as stables. They also gave them insulting names. Mosques were called *Mastgarh*, Musalmans as *Musla*, and Ahmad Shah was named *Ghilja*.¹

Ahmad Shah led an expedition against the Sikhs towards the river Sutlej. He ordered all the Hindus to remove their hair and beards as these were the symbols of Sikhism. One day he was smoking a hubble-bubble, when suddenly a Sikh rushed upon him. The Abdali struck him with an arrow, and he fell dead on the spot. The Sikhs then disappeared and Ahmad Shah returned to Lahore.²

Ahmad Shah decided to make use of his stay in the Panjab by recovering Kashmir from his own nominee Sukhjiwan Mal who had thrown off his allegiance to the Abdali and submitted to the Delhi Emperor. Sukhjiwan Mal was an exceptionally capable and just ruler in administering government, very liberal in religion, patron of Muslim culture, kind to the poor³ and supporter of art and literature.

the rate of seven seers per rupee :—

”گرائی غله در آن مکان بسیار بود یعنی یک روپیہ را ہفت
آثار آرد می فروختند در سیالکوٹ و لاہور و دوابہ ہمیں نرخ
بود“۔ P. 246.

”اول ترس سکھان روز بروز زیادہ میشد و دویم فوج شاہ کہ
از ہرچہار طرف لاہور را غارت و تاراج بردہ ویران و بے چراغ ساختند“
P. 247.

¹ *Ganesh Das*, 201-2.

² *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 172-3.

³ In 1754 there was a severe famine in Kashmir. Sukhjiwan Mal distributed quite free one lakh sacks (*kharwars*) of rice among the poor, and permitted the public to buy rice from the Government stores at the rate of one anna per seer. *Narayan Kaul*, 185a.

But he had a rival in Raja Ranjit Dev of Jammu who was induced by Shah Wali Khan to come to Lahore and guide an expedition to Kashmir. The Afghan troops numbering about 3,000, supplemented by a contingent of Ranjit Dev were placed under the command of Nur-ud-din. This small expedition led in June failed as all the passes leading into Kashmir were strongly guarded, and it was found difficult to cross the flooded rivers and streams. The second expedition organised in October on a larger scale achieved complete success. The Durrani army entered Kashmir by the Tosha Maidan. Sukhjiwan Mal came to oppose the invaders at the head of 50,000 troops; but just at the time of battle he was deserted by his commander-in-chief, Bakht Mal. Sukhjiwan Mal was therefore easily defeated and captured. He was immediately blinded by applying a lance, and was sent to Lahore where he was trampled down by horses to death. The province of Kashmir was placed under the charge of Nur-ud-din.¹

Ahmad Shah appointed Kabuli Mal, a Hindu, the Governor of the Panjab, thinking that he might be able to win over the Sikhs and thereby establish peace in the province. He left Lahore for Afghanistan on the 12th December,

¹ *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114-6; *Siyār*, iii, 74; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a-b; Narayan Kaul, 186a-187a. About Sukhjiwan Mal the contemporary Ghulam Ali Azad says: "He was a handsome youth, possessed of good qualities and friendly feelings towards Islam. He repaired all the shrines and gardens. After finishing the court business, he fed two hundred Muslims with a variety of food every day. On the 11th and 12th of every month he got sacramental food cooked and distributed among the people. He bestowed favours on every visitor to the court whether he was poor or rich. Once in every week he held a poetical conversation. It was attended by all the well-known poets. At the end of it he embraced every one of them. He engaged five best scholars to compile a history of Kashmir from the earliest times. Each writer was provided with ten assistants. The head of these historians was Muhammad Taufiq whose original name was Lalaju." *Khazan-i-Amira*, 114-6. Cf. *Siyār*, iii, 74; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 122a-b.

1762. The Sikhs had grown so bold and fearless that they attacked him just under the walls of the Lahore fort when Abdali was on the bank of the Ravi. "His troops were crossing the river, when the Sikhs most fearlessly approached them and started plundering their baggage. Some of them came nearer and discharged their guns from close quarters. Ahmad Shah was standing on the river bank at the head of his personal contingent of 12,000. He marvelled at their boldness, looked surprisingly at them, but remained silent until his troops crossed over; and he was left alone with his detachment. The Sikhs finding the Afghans smaller in number grew bolder, galloped their horses close to the Shah and emptied their matchlocks. The Shah said his afternoon prayers, rode on horseback and attacked the Sikhs. His troops made a sudden sally with drawn swords, and cut down the Sikhs so quickly as fire destroys cotton. The Sikhs took to flight towards the river Beas. By this time night had fallen. The Shah gave up their pursuit, crossed over the Ravi, and marched homeward."¹

8. *Seventh Invasion, 1764-65*

On the departure of Ahmad Shah the Sikhs created a havoc all over the Panjab. They vanquished the Afghans wherever they rose against them. "The mosques that had been ever rebuilt or restored to use by the Mahometans, were demolished with every mark of contempt and indignation; and the Afghans, in chains, washed the foundations with the blood of hogs. They were also compelled to excavate the reservoir at Amrut Sir, which in the preceding year they had filled up. The Sicques, however, keenly actuated by resentment, set a bound to the impulse of revenge, and though the Afghan massacre and persecution must have been deeply imprinted on their minds, they did not, it is

¹ *Ahmad Shah*, 895-6.

said estroy one prisoner in cold blood,"¹

In May, 1763, they defeated the Afghan chiefs of Kasur, and sacked the town. The Jullundur Doāb was run over in June. Abdali's commander-in-chief, Jahan Khan, was repulsed on the banks of the Chenab by the middle of November, and Malerkotla was laid waste in December. Early in January, 1764, they entered the Sirhind province, and defeated and killed Zain Khan, the Governor, on the 14th January, 1764. The Sikhs occupied the territory situated between the Sutlej and the Jumna. In February, they raided the Gangetic Doāb, the country of Najib-ud-daulah. The eye-witness Miskin, who had recently taken service under Najib writes: "In that year, 40,000 of their horsemen crossed the Jumna and disturbed and looted the Saharanpur and Meerut districts. Nawab Najib Khan, for a month or two, moved in every direction where the Sikhs were reported to be roving, in order to protect the country, and fought and usually defeated them. As they did not make a firm stand anywhere and offer battle, he had to run about after them, but they did not give up their jackal tricks."²

The Sikhs afterwards coerced Kabuli Mal, the Durrani Governor of Lahore, and forced him to cut off the noses and ears of certain butchers of the city. Then they advanced to Multan and the Derajat. "They led an expedition against Multan, and plundered the city. The Dogs have brought an immense booty from there, and I cannot describe what the Dogs did there."³ Another section of the Sikhs under Charat Singh Sukarchakia devastated the country as far as the Jhelum, and took possession of the fort of Rohtas.⁴

¹ Forster, i, 321; cf. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 173.

² *Miskin*, 266; *Sarkār*, ii, 395.

³ *Jang Namah*, 38.

⁴ *Sohan Lal*, ii, 11-2; *Ratan Singh*, 496-8; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 174.

All these distressing news greatly exasperated Ahmad Shah Abdali who grew furious at the defiance and contumacy of the Sikhs whose lawless activities had spread over a vast country lying between the Indus and the Ganges. He was not prepared to allow his prestige which had risen to its zenith after the third battle of Panipat to wane. Besides, he wanted to punish Jawahir Singh, the Jat Raja of Bharatpur, who had besieged his plenipotentiary Najib-ud-daulah in Delhi.

Ahmad Shah Durrani collected an army of 18,000 strong, and called upon Nasir Khan, the Baluch Chief, who was making preparations to go on a pilgrimage to Mecca to join him. He wrote¹:—

"I have received news from Multan and Derahs that the Sikhs have laid waste the Lahore territory. They have devastated the entire country as far as Multan² and Derahs. They have demolished mosques, taken Muslims as captives and have prevented the Muslims from performing all the

¹ Nothing was known about this invasion of Ahmad Shah Abdali and it remained hitherto almost a blank in the history of India. The details of this campaign are based on Nur Muhammad's *Jang Namah*, a rare manuscript of unique value. The author followed in the train of the invader, took notes of his deeds on personal observation and compiled the work in Persian verse the same year, covering 226 pages. The only copy of this work known to exist was in the library of the Khan of Kalat (Baluchistan). The late Karam Singh, a research scholar of Sikh history, copied it in 1906. This has now been printed by the Khalsa College, Amritsar.

² No Panjab Historian has so far admitted the Sikh invasion into Multan as early as 1764, but nobody can challenge the accuracy of Nur Muhammad. Further on the author of the *Jang Namah* says: "They led an expedition against Multan and gave the city over to plunder. The Dogs (Sikhs) have brought immense booty from there. My mind refuses (to describe) what the Dogs did there. O faithful ones! since the days of auspicious-natured Adam none remembers to have heard of such miseries inflicted anywhere except in Multan. But as God willed it, each of us should also submit to it." *Ibid.*, 174.

religious observances.¹ The things have grown so bad and you are going on a pilgrimage. A religious war with them is better than a pilgrimage. I start from this place and you march from there. Both of us united will root them out. We will burn their houses and will capture their women and children as slaves."²

The religious appeal from his master stirred Nasir Khan's mind. He gave up the idea of the pilgrimage for the time being, and made preparations for the invasion of India. It also seems probable that the approach of the Sikhs to the very suburbs of his territory, the boundary of which extended as far as the Derajat, had raised doubts in his mind that he must try to put a check on their unlimited ambition.

The Khan's religious enthusiasts (*Ghazi*) at once responded to the call and they began to pour in Kalat in their fur dresses holding matchlocks in their hands. The Khan ordered the Baruhis of Jehalbani to assemble at Bazidi stage and those of Sadabani at Ganjaba. He himself marched from Kalat with great pomp and show, and halted at the first stage of Bazidi, where he was joined by the Jehalbans. The next halt was made at Ganjaba, where Sadabani, Lasha and Kachhi Baluches swelled his ranks. At this place Qazi Nur Muhammad, the memorable writer of the *Jang Namah* who was a grey-bearded old man expressed his wish to become a *Ghazi* and joined the Khan. The Khan advised him to stay behind in view of his old age and the long and tedious journey, but the Qazi was steadfast and firm. The Khan then asked him to compile an account of the invasion and of his brave deeds and took him in his train.³

¹ "When the exalted Shah (Abdali) returned (to his country in 1763) that progressive sect (Sikhs) came out from forests and mountains and busied themselves in plundering the property of the Muslims, turned their mosques and monasteries into stables for their horses, entirely stopped the Islamic practices like *azān*, etc., in the Muslim habitations and subjected them to great persecution." *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i Afghanan*, 173.

² *Jang Namah*, 41-2.

³ *Ibid.*, 43-4.

At the third stage more tribesmen of the neighbouring villages came and followed him. At "Jani ke Dere" Rahman Khan, Governor of Shikarpur, visited the Khan saying that he had arranged provisions for his troops and fodder for the horses in accordance with the instructions of Ahmad Shah Durrani. Here the Khan was joined by Gahram Khan at the head of a force of Magsis and Lasharis. Shikarpur was the next station where they stayed for two days. Then passing through Bakhtiyarpur, Kasinge, Kandah Kot and Kasmor they arrived at Shikarpur Sani, where Sardar Ghazi Khan¹ joined him. Derah was the next stage where a halt of three days was made. On the third day Nasir Khan ordered all his troops for a march past (*alimah*) and watched them from his *Kohparah* horse. The clerk (*munshi*) counted them and found the number to be 12,000.²

Marching from Derah they encamped on the bank of the river (Indus) where they spent three or four days in search of boats. After covering several stages they arrived on the bank of the Jhelum where they halted for two days. On the third day Bakhtiyar Khan joined the Khan with a thousand of the best troops of his tribe. They crossed the river by means of boats and advanced farther. Now they had the river Chenab on the one hand and the Jhelum on the other. Both the chiefs covered four stages together and reached Sahiwal, which was an old town of the Baluches. Here they received a message from Ahmad Shah to march quickly. Nasir Khan, therefore, crossed the Chenab by forced marches and arrived at Chiniot.³

¹ This Ghazi Khan attended to the toilet in the fashion of women. He took *bhāng* and opium and indulged in wine and women. Ahmad Shah's contractors (*Ijarah dar*) came, looted and laid waste his country. *Jang Namah*, 52-3.

² *Ibid.*, 45-60. (30,000 according to *Nur-ud-din*, 92b; but I follow the eye-witness Nur Muhammad. 30,000 was the total strength of the Afghan forces this time).

³ *Ibid.*, 61-72.

Nur Muhammad paid a visit to the town and described its pitiable condition in pathetic words. He states: "The city has been ruined by the atrocities of the Sikhs. All the people of the place were in trouble and misery. The whole town including its suburbs lay in ruins. Its buildings had been pulled down, and all the mosques were deserted. They were spoiled by the dung and fodder of horses. The learned people, the nobles and the Sayyids of the city led a miserable life. When the Dogs (Sikhs) partitioned this land, the city fell into the share of accursed Jhanda (Singh Bhangi). They divided among themselves the whole country, Sirhind, Lahore, Panjab, Multan, Jhang, Khusab, and the land of the Chenab."¹

At this place another message to the same effect came from the Durrani Emperor who lay encamped at Eminabad. Nasir Khan consequently travelled by double marches. When he was at a distance of 10 miles from him, he sent a man in advance to Ahmad Shah Abdali asking whether to present himself at his service the same evening or the next morning. Ahmad Shah detained his messenger, but sent word through his own man that he should rest in the night and join him the following day. The Khan started early in the morning and was received by Sardar Jahan Khan six miles away from the camp. He then saw Ahmad Shah Abdali who accorded him a warm reception.²

On the following day the whole army marched before daybreak and halted at a distance of 9 kos. They came to the river (Ravi) on the third day. Ahmad Shah crossed over at once, but Nasir Khan stayed at Shahdara for the night and joined the Durrani the next morning. Ahmad Shah held a *darbar* in the Fort of Lahore. It was attended

¹ *Ibid.*, 72. "Chiniot also suffered much from the Durrani inroads during the last half of the eighteenth century." *Imperial Gazetteer, Punjab*, ii, 217.

² *Ibid.*, 73-7.

by all the big officials and local chiefs of note, while the captains of the army stood in a line on one side. The Durrani said, "Let me know the exact place where the Sikhs are. In the absence of this information how can I fight them." Each chief expressed his opinion. The Khan of the Baluches said, "I am ready to obey the orders of the king. I would not mind in undertaking to powder a mountain if it falls in the way. About the Sikhs I do not care, because they cannot dare face men in the field. They come like thieves to fight. If they fight in a regular battle they would learn what fighting is, but the crux of the problem is that they flee away before the royal troops. They measure their strength with the poor and the weak. The royal troops should advance to take them by surprise. We will end this trouble once for all and will bring their women and children as captives."¹

Ahmad Shah Durrani replied, "Whatever you have said is quite true, but they have gone away from here. There is neither water nor fodder and I am afraid my troops may perish. They are hidden in the Lakhi Jungle which is about 150 miles from here. But we will attack them there and will destroy them." All agreed to adopt this course and went to their camps to prepare for the journey.²

Next morning by sunrise all the chiefs gathered in the presence of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Then a horseman of the *Qarawal*³ came in hot haste telling that a strong contingent of the enemy had fallen on the *Qarawal*, and if immediate reinforcements were not despatched by the king, things would go very bad.⁴

On that day the Baluches under two Sardars, Gahram Khan and Ahmad Khan, appointed by Nasir Khan, were

¹ *Ibid.*, 77-81.

² *Ibid.*, 81-2.

³ When the army went to the battle-field, their camps, kitchens, families and servants known as *Bahir-o-Bungah* were left in charge of a strong contingent, which was called *Qarawal*.

⁴ *Jang Namah*, 83.

in charge of the *Qarawal*. When the Sikhs attacked¹ them Ahmad Khan with his son advanced to achieve martyrdom, and both of these lost their lives instantaneously. Twelve other Baluches were also killed.²

The battle was going on in this way when the reinforcements from the Durrani arrived. Nasir Khan was ahead of all of them preceded only by a youth named Pir Abdul Nabi, the chief of Raisania. He frightened the Sikhs as a lion did the dogs. One Sikh shot him and lodged a bullet in the leg. He fell down wounded and his companions removed him from the battle-field.³

Nasir Khan then came forward and approached close to the Sikhs. One Chartu (Charat Singh Sukarchakia) round whose neck a sword was hanging, advanced to oppose him. The Khan violently fell on him; but he at once fled to his troops. Suddenly a Sikh fired a gun under the effect of which the Khan's horse dropped dead. The Baluches cried out "*bismillah, bismillah,*" and thanked God on finding him safe and sound. Greetings were exchanged and he was congratulated. The Khan's two attendants Muhammad Husain and Mir Manga discharged their guns on that Sikh, one killed his horse and the other destroyed its rider.⁴

In the meantime the rest of the Durrani army came on the scene. The Sikhs took to flight and the Afghans galloped off in pursuit. One brave Baluch named Mazar was fighting the Sikhs, but some Sikhs shot him dead.⁵ With Mir Mazar there was another hero named Haji who gave up his life in God's cause by the bullet of a Sikh. Another youth Jalli, who was fighting in front of the Khan laid down his life from two arrows aimed at him by a Sikh.

¹ *Ibid.*, 87.

² *Ibid.*, 88.

³ *Ibid.*, 90-2.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 92-5.

⁵ "Can this be called a fight that a brave youth was sent to heaven by being shot from a distance? If the fight had been carried by the sword he would have killed several Sikhs." *Ibid.*, 96.

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⁴ *Jang Namah*, 83.

(Ahmad Shah Durrani) on this victory, who advised the Khan not to fight again in the front ranks and thus endanger his life.

The Sikhs having fled from the battle-field made straight for Amritsar. When the Shah learnt all this, he at once prepared to invade the place which he had already ruined, but which had been rebuilt by the Sikhs.

The Shah left all his baggage at Lahore and with horsemen unencumbered by field equipments marched for the place and reached there on the fourth night. The Sikhs had already fled from "Guruchak," and when the Shah reached there he did not find any of the infidels, with the exception of a few men in the fort. They were seeking death, and their aim was to sacrifice their lives for their Guru. When they saw the Shah and his troops, they came out of the fort. They numbered only thirty, and did not mind their death at all. In a heroic fight with the *ghazis* they were all killed. The Afghans ran right and left, but came across no other Sikh.¹

Ahmad Shah Durrani returned to Lahore and held a council of war. All expressed their opinion. Nasir Khan said, "We must leave this place in pursuit of the Sikhs. If any of these infidels will come before us, that black-faced person will be killed with the help of the fortune of the King. We should stay at Sirhind for so long as to get news from Najib Khan at Delhi about his position. When the tidings of your approach to Sirhind will reach Delhi, the infidels will begin to tremble out of fear of the world emperor. They will run hither and thither, and Najib Khan by escaping from the siege will come to our service. Then you can settle what course to follow, either to go forward or to come back".² These suggestions were accepted and the following day was fixed for the march.

¹ *Ibid.*, 106.

² *Ibid.*, 107-8.

Ghulam Husain youth of Bingalzai aimed his gun at a Sikh who shouted, "If you are a man, dismount and combat with me." The youth was enraged, fought with the Sikh and laid him prostrate on the ground. He now sat on him. The Sikh tried to seize the sword of his adversary, but he firmly grasped his hand. When he could not release it he bit his hand. The Pathan hero grew furious and cut off his head with a dagger.¹

The chief of Sasulian was a young man. He threw down a Sikh from his horse, but another Sikh immediately killed him. Another youth of Alhari clan named Jalal was a handsome and brave young man. He roamed in the midst of the Sikhs like a tiger. He shot down a Sikh, but suddenly another Sikh cut him into two pieces.²

Mir Barfi was a daring youth, expert in the use of the spear. He was fearlessly wandering in the field of battle. One Sikh opposed him, but this Baluch pierced him through with his spear. In the struggle which ensued the spear fell down from his hand. Mullandar and Fatuhi Darogha, other brave soldiers, killed two Sikhs.

Nur Muhammad says that he was present in the battle-field on that day. He had a sword in one hand and a pen in the other. A Sikh brandishing his sword sprang upon him, but he was instantly shot dead by a Bruhi youth.³

In short when the night fell the Sikhs disappeared out of sight. All the heroes (*ghazi*) retired from the battle-field with satisfaction. Nasir Khan congratulated the King

¹ *Ibid.*, 95-8.

² "It is sad that the infidels martyr men by shooting from a distance. They would have seen our skill if they had fought with swords." *Ibid.*

³ "I am sorry his name and address are not known to me, otherwise I would have praised him. God has made the sword either for Pathans or for Baluches and nobody else can rival them." *Ibid.*

on them. On that day Sardar Jahan Khan had the command of the troops. He was familiar with the Sikh warfare, because he had fought many battles with them, and knew their cunning and tricks well. The Khan stood at his place and did not move forward at all. He waited for the reinforcements. The damned Sikhs were creating a havoc in the field. They had guns and matchlocks in their hands and were killing people right and left. All of a sudden the royal troops under Nasir Khan arrived. The Khan on seeing the Dogs rushed upon them with the fury of a lion. He was followed by his own special contingent which displayed the greatest valour in the fight. Then began the hand-to-hand fight which Nur Muhammad describes in his own characteristic way. Sayyid Nur Shah was in the forefront, and he killed an enemy with his sword. Ghulam Husain Bingalzai brought down another foe from his horse with a stroke of the sword. The cashier of the Khan struck a horseman so dexterously that he was immediately despatched to hell. Muhammad Husain also killed one black-faced infidel. Barfi Qambarani cut an enemy into two pieces with his sword, and alighting from his horse stripped him of his arms. In this struggle Suleman Jasawal galloped off his horse behind a Sikh, and on drawing near by hit him with his sword so hard that he fell down from his horse. Just at this moment another Dog fell upon him from behind, and cut off his head with a single stroke of the sword. Thus this young man repaired to heaven.

When the Khan spurred his horse the infidels took to flight, and kept on running for six miles. They came upon a deserted village which had fallen into ruins on account of the ravages of time. The Sikhs hid themselves there. Nasir Khan followed them and on arriving near the village alighted from his horse, while all his troopers stood round him with guns in their hands. The night fell. It was pitch dark. The *Shahanshah* was waiting for the Khan, and on seeing the darkness thickening was growing restless and

The next morning all the troops came out of the city of Lahore and started for the Doāb where the Sikhs lived. When they marched the King said, "The country belongs to the *Kafirs*, plunder and lay it waste thoroughly." "When the troops learnt it they fled to every town and village, because they desired such a thing from their heart and had prayed to God day and night for it. The troops led their attacks in all directions and created a havoc wherever they went. They made no distinction between Sikhs and non-Sikhs.¹ The troops plundered indiscriminately and thus the country was ruined. The inhabitants of every village took to flight going as far away as they could. A large number of cows, asses, sheep and goats, sugar-cane fields, and heaps of sugar-cane molasses and sesame fell into their hands. The men as well as cattle ate nothing but *gur* and *tīl*. Even the male and female slaves and all big and small lived on beef, sugar-cane molasses and sesame. A thousand blessings on such a King who confers the whole country on his troops. Only such a prince can show generosity as requires no weight and no scales. In this way all the troops laid waste the entire country from morning to evening, and after fourteen or fifteen days we reached the town of Batala"² (56 miles from Lahore).

Then the Afghans crossed the Beas and entered the Jullundur Doāb where the people had been so much terrified that they took shelter either in the hills or hid themselves in the thick vegetation on the river banks. A large number of them took refuge in the dens of Dholbaha.

The Afghans were leisurely marching through the Jullundur Doāb when one day the Sikhs suddenly appeared before them. Their heads were full of pride and hearts bent upon revenge. They checked the progress of the advance-guard. The leader of the advance-guard at once sent a message to the Shah that the devil Sikhs had fallen

¹ *Ibid.*, 110.

² *Ibid.*, 110-1.

hills. Here he stayed for two days¹ to enjoy the tiger hunt in the neighbouring hills, and by way of Garhi Kotaha, reached Kunjpura situated on the banks of the Jumna near Karnal (nearly 100 miles) in two months' time by the end of February.²

Here he came to know that Najib-ud-daulah had made peace with Jawahar Singh.³ He held a *darbar* at this place and sought the advice of his chiefs whether to go to Delhi or to return. Nasir Khan said, "It is better if we go to Delhi and spend the four months of the rainy season there. We will know how things stand between Jats and Marathas on the one hand, and with Najib Khan on the other. We will also know what the difficulties of Najib were, how he fought, how he settled terms and how he got rid of his troubles. All these affairs will be managed at Delhi. We will also get information about Ali Gauhar (Shah Alam II) and about his intentions, whether he fights us or makes friends with us. Rumour says that he cherishes hostile intentions. If this is true we will set him right; but if he behaves in a friendly manner we should be kind to him. We should also treat Shuja kindly because he supplies us with treasure and goods. When we have settled all these affairs, we will raise a huge army consisting of the forces of Najib Khan, Shuja and other chiefs, also of the Jats and the Marathas without sparing anybody. Then we will attack the Sikhs and will root them out easily because a hare can be successfully hunted by a local hound."⁴

The other Durrani chiefs dissented with this view. They were afraid of the sweltering heat of the Indian summer the

¹ *Ibid.*, 122.

² *Browne*, ii, 25.

³ Father Xavier Wendel, a Jesuit Missionary at Agra, in his *History of the Jats* written in French and compiled in 1768, on page 98, says that if the Sikhs had not retarded Ahmad Shah Durrani's progress and finally obliged him to retrace his steps, Jawahir Singh would have seen the Durrani and Najib arriving in his own country.

⁴ *Jang Namah*, 131.

expressed his desire that he should not fight in the night. He ordered his Wazir to recall the Khan. The Wazir sent him an express message that he was immediately wanted by the Shah. The Khan replied that he would not return till the enemy came out; but on search it was discovered that no Sikh was there. So he mounted his steed, came back to the Shah, and congratulated him on this victory.¹

The day's battle being over, the Durrani continued his march and reached the Sutlej on the third day. It was crossed probably at Machhiwara. He posted Nasir Khan on the opposite bank of the river to see that no horses or camels were driven away by the enemy. Nasir Khan had just taken up his position when the Sikhs suddenly appeared in sight. They intended to have one more trial of strength with the Afghans on the very bank of the river. They waited for an opportunity for the whole day, but Nasir Khan did not budge an inch from his place and stood on his ground in a solid square. The Sikhs eventually retired in disappointment.²

Ahmad Shah spent the night there, and marched onward the next morning. When they had gone only a little farther, they wanted to decide what route to follow to Delhi. On the right hand side lay the main road *via* Sirhind, but this territory was not rich and fertile and lacked in plentiful supply of provisions and fodder. The country on the left side was green and prosperous and was thickly populated. Consequently, they adopted the left hand route. They divided themselves into bands and marched leisurely seldom travelling more than six miles in a day. They obtained plenty of wheat, barley, vegetables and pulses, and as a result both men and animals gained considerably in weight.³

Ahmad Shah encamped in the famous Pinjor Garden situated near Kalka on the Simla road at the foot of the

¹ *Ibid.*, 112-6.

² *Ibid.*, 118.

³ *Ibid.*, 119.

Alha Singh. He soon crossed the Sutlej and encamped on the opposite side. At this place news was brought to Ahmad Shah that the Sikhs were gathering at Guru Chak to fight him. The Afghan heroes grew enthusiastic to arrive at Guru Chak as soon as possible. They had hardly advanced one *kos* when they were informed that a large army of the infidels (Sikhs) had fallen on their advance-guard and had checked their progress. Ahmad Shah on hearing it was enraged and said, "My troops are too indolent in carrying on a religious war, that is why the Sikhs attack us in such a way. But I will beat these infidels so severely that the bones of their bodies will turn into cotton."¹

The Afghan army immediately got ready to fight. The Shah himself was in the centre. On his right were Shah Vali Khan, Anzala Khan, Jahan Khan, Shah Pasand Zabat Begi etc., with 12,000 troops; while on his left was the Chief of the Baluches. The Sikhs on the other hand also organised themselves in a regular battle array. In the centre was Jassa Singh Kalal who was fearlessly standing like a mountain, and close by him was the other Jassa Singh Tarkhan who looked like a lion in stature. There were many other heroes with Jassa Singh.² On his right³ was Charat Singh with Jhanda Singh, Lahna Singh and Jai Singh, while on the left were Ram Das, Hari Singh Bhangi, Gulab Singh and Gujar Singh.

Ahmad Shah Durrani issued strict orders to all the

¹ *Jung Namah*, 140-2.

² Their names probably were not known to Nur Muhammad. They must be the other Sikh *misdars*. On this occasion all the Sikhs had combined under Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, the chief leader, who generally occupied the central position.

³ *Ibid.*, 145-7. The organisation of the Sikh army into a regular battle-array on this occasion shows that the Sikhs had given up their guerilla tactics, and had henceforth decided to have a pitched battle. This is for the first time we come across this order of fighting in the history of the evolution of Sikh army since 1715.

oppressive rainy season, the swelling rivers difficult to cross and the attacks of the Jats and the Sikhs. They pressed Ahmad Shah to return and he immediately marched homeward.

On his return journey Ahmad Shah travelled by quick marches, and reached Sirhind in three or four stages. The ghastly sight of the once flourishing city which had been laid waste by the Sikhs in January, 1764, shocked the Afghans greatly. Nur Muhammad rode through all the streets of the town, but found it all destroyed and deserted.¹

Alha Singh, the founder of the present house of Patiala presented himself before the Abdali and offered him costly gifts. The Shah enquired of him the cause of the ruin of Sirhind city. Alha Singh blamed the trans-Sutlej Sikhs for this atrocity though he had himself also participated in its destruction along with them, and told him that he fought many times against the Sikhs, but to no effect.² He begged the Shah to grant him the territory of Sirhind, and promised to repopulate the town. The Abdali considered it an excellent opportunity to cause a split among the Sikhs by granting him this favour and thus making him a tributary to the Durrani Government to which all other Sikhs were violently opposed. He conferred upon him the title of Raja, invested him with a robe of honour and kettle-drum, and appointed Alha Singh to the governorship of Sirhind on his agreeing to pay an annual tribute of three lakhs and a half.³

Ahmad Shah Durrani halted at Sirhind for a few days and then marched towards Lahore under the guidance of

¹ *Ibid.*, 133.

² *Ibid.*, 139.

³ *Jang Namah*, 139-40; *Bakhtmal*, 104-5; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 168; Griffin's *Rajas of the Punjab*, 26; *Tarikh-i-Patiala*, 61-2; *Gosha-i-Panjab*, 44; *Raj Khalsa*, 385; *Ahmad Shah*, 886; *Bute Shah*, 278a; *Gyan Singh*, 1041.

Sikhs dispersed and the Khan came back to the main body of his troops.¹

He had hardly reached there when another contingent of the Sikhs arrived on the spot. The Sikhs were immediately surrounded between the king and the Khan of the Baluches. A fierce struggle ensued which went on till darkness spread after sunset. In the end the Sikhs returned and the *Ghazis* also came back to their camp.²

For the description of the second day's fight we hand over the pen to the Qazi who paints a beautiful picture of it: "On the following day when the sun rose in its full glory the lion-hearted and the just king marched from that place. When he had gone about three miles onward the black-faced Dogs came in sight. These rebellious, stone-hearted and strong-limbed infidels galloped on the advance-guard of the royal troops and attacked not only the front lines but also the right and the left sides. This day these wretches had arranged their army in a different way, namely they placed their right wing (of yesterday) on the left side, while on the right hand side they cunningly set the left wing. (In short) the right side became left and the left became right. Their dust turned the bright day into night. These shameless Dogs craftily and purposely changed their advance-guard into rear and the rear into van. Thus organised in this manner the black-faced Dogs galloped off in the battle-field.

" But the army of these hideous Dogs was greater than it was yesterday. They came into the field of battle and commenced fighting with the *Ghazis*. The celebrated king and hero of heaven, at the head of a strong force galloped round the Muslims and encouraged all the *Ghazis*. A little farther the virtuous king encamped. He fixed his banners

¹ *Ibid.*, 157-8.

² *Ibid.*, 163.

chiefs not to move from their places to avoid confusion which the enemy always tried to aim at. The battle was going on in this way when the Khan was summoned by Ahmad Shah, who said to him: "The Sikhs have nearly subdued the right wing, because the heroes pursued the Sikhs and fell an easy prey to their clever tactics. This side has fallen empty and the Sikhs have occupied it. You see that they are growing stronger there. These infidels are showering arrows and bullets like Tartars. They attack now to the right and then to the left, and I am very much struck with their boldness.¹ You go to that side and give them a hard time. But remember not to advance from your place. The enemy will come to you of their own accord and you must not go to them."²

The Khan with his troops immediately repaired to that side and ordered all of his *sardars* to stick fast to their position and not to move at all. Charat Singh and other Sikhs rushed on them but the Ghazi Baluches kept on standing like a mountain."³

The Khan⁴ of the Baluches succeeded in driving the Sikhs back. He also pursued the fleeing Sikhs who on finding the Baluches broken from the main body, suddenly turned back and surrounded the Khan who commanded only fifty horsemen.⁵

The Khan and his companions alighted from their horses and cleverly defended themselves against their onslaught. The Sikhs tried their hardest but could not succeed in breaking through them. Some Sikhs and Baluches lost their lives in this fight which lasted for several hours. Then the

¹ *Ibid.*, 149.

² *Ibid.*, 148-50.

³ *Ibid.*, 152.

⁴ At this point one leaf from the original manuscript is missing and therefore it cannot be known what Charat Singh did after this.

⁵ *Jang Namah*, 155-7.

"The lion-hearted, heavenly, exalted King toured round the army in this way. He encouraged each Khan, leader and chief, big or small. He said, 'O Sardars! when the Khan attacks the infidels, you should also attack them simultaneously at the same place. Do not lag behind in attacking them.' When the Khan heard it, he found no counsel better than this. He stood at the place to which he had returned, because the evil-natured ones wandered at a distance.

"This day many of the Dogs were killed by the sword and the gun. When the sun had set no belligerent remained in the field.

"On the third day, the Durrani march began with the break of day. The Afghans had hardly covered a distance of about six miles, when the Sikhs all of a sudden made their appearance. The Sikhs fought as they had done the previous day. They adopted the same old tactics and disappeared. They came roaring like a lion, and went away slyly like a fox. They came, discharged their guns from a distance and held back. They did not flee, but delayed fighting. When the Shah marched these Dogs constantly followed the Afghan troops, and when the Durrani halted they fought with him. In this manner the Sikhs worried the Afghans for seven days continuously from morning to evening."¹

On the seventh day of his marching through the Jullundur Doab, the Abdali arrived at the ford on the Beas before mid-day. Ahmad Shah stood on the bank and ordered that his camp consisting of loaded camels, shopkeepers, craftsmen, merchants, traders, women, children, boys, bullocks and donkeys should be conveyed first across the river. When

¹*Ibid.*, 182-3. The third day's battle took place at Nurmahal 16 miles south of Jullundur. Cf. *Shamshir Khalsa*, 120. Another battle was fought at Kapurthala in which the Durrani sustained a heavy loss in men and beasts. *Khushwaqt Rai*, 96.

there and the whole army came to a halt. The king ordered all the *sardars* and soldiers to organise themselves in the same order as they had done the previous day and he ordered the Khan of the Baluches to lead the attack and all others to take their respective positions. The just king rode round the victorious army and said to everybody, 'Be cheerful but do not move from your place'. Then he came to the Khan of Baluches who was ahead of all and said, 'O celebrated and valiant hero! the Baluch force is my strength. Stick to your place like a mountain in its grandeur, dignity and awe. Do not put your foot ahead of your place and attentively wait for my orders. When you get orders to fall upon the heads of the infidels gallop off as your chiefs advise you.'

"After a while the king ordered the whole army to attack. Everybody rode onward and the hideous-faced Dogs took to flight. In the course of a journey of about three miles none of the Dogs was to be seen in the field. All the *Ghazis* who had fought for God returned. When the faithful troops came back the damned Dogs appeared in the rear. The army of the Dogs lay scattered and dispersed. They madly galloped in all directions and created a tumult in the battle-field. The world-protecting, angel-like and exalted *Shahanshah* again moved round the army, encouraging his soldiers. He said to the Khan, 'Nobody should go ahead and none should move from his place. Then he slowly muttered, 'Wait, the devilish foe will itself come to you. Do not step outside your ranks but stick to your place like the Caucasus mountain. When you find that the Dogs have approached you, fall on their heads. I have advised all the *Ghazis* similarly. When you move forward all of you should remain closely united. None should go ahead and nobody should lag behind, and no person should keep away from the main body. All should fall on the enemy in a body simultaneously.'¹

¹ *Ibid.*, 178-82.

"The lion-hearted, heavenly, exalted King toured round the army in this way. He encouraged each Khan, leader and chief, big or small. He said, 'O Sardars! when the Khan attacks the infidels, you should also attack them simultaneously at the same place. Do not lag behind in attacking them.' When the Khan heard it, he found no counsel better than this. He stood at the place to which he had returned, because the evil-natured ones wandered at a distance.

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¹*Ibid.*, 182-3. The third day's battle took place at Nurmahal 16 miles south of Jullundur. Cf. *Shamshir Khalsa*, 120. Another battle was fought at Kapurthala in which the Durrani sustained a heavy loss in men and beasts. *Khushwaqt Rai*, 96.

the whole encampment had crossed over, and Ahmad Shah was on this side, he was informed that 30,000 Sikhs were waiting to fight him. Ahmad Shah at once organized his troops and assigned fixed positions to various captains. It had just been done when the Sikhs attacked them. The fight began and after some time the Sikhs took to flight. "When all the pig-eating, wretched Dogs were lost to view by the faithful ones, they returned from the field and stood on the edge of the flowing water."¹

Ahmad Shah then crossed the river, followed last of all by Nasir Khan. "This was the last battle of the Dogs, and this was their last day of fighting. Their cunning and tricks availed them nothing, because they were sad and disappointed. This was the second river of the Doab by which name it is known all the world over. The faith-protecting king, in all grandeur, glory and victory, marched from this place, and after some stages arrived on the Ravi, and crossing it over with all his troops and baggage (without stopping at Lahore), he came to the river Chenab travelling by easy marches."²

Nur Muhammad narrates a pathetic tale of woe which befell the Afghan army in the passage of the Chenab. The river was divided into eight channels. The six were easily forded, but the last two were stronger and wider. It was in one of these where the Qazi witnessed a terrible sight and himself experienced an almost fatal but otherwise a jolly accident.

Thus says the Qazi:—

"All persons from far and near, the mountain-like, strong, loaded camels with mouths full of foam, dromedaries,

¹ *Ibid.*, 184.

² *Ibid.*, 183-6. The Sikhs did not pursue the Abdali further because they wished to celebrate the Baisakhi festival at Amritsar which fell on the 10th April, 1765.

pairāks (?), elephant-like horses and ponies; bullocks and buffaloes countless in number and going in rows of lakhs entered the rapid water. When about half of the bed had been crossed the strong current made all men and animals restless. The persons, sitting on horses and camels, and numbering about a lakh, the laden camels, horses, ponies, bullocks, buffaloes and asses were drowning into water at every place, and the cup of their fortune turned upside down like a bubble. The water shook and pushed down the horses, camels, men, women, horses and beasts of burden loaded with goods, gold, silver, chattels, apparel and numberless tents and were carried away by water in every direction. May God save us from such a day!

"On that day nobody thought of the other and a father cared nothing for his son. People became so desperate that they threw themselves into water along with the goods. The beautiful women (captives) in veils, whose faces even the sun had not seen, fell in large numbers into water, and it seemed as if doomsday had come. However strong the affections of one for the other one took no notice of him or her.

"I was riding a horse that day and was going in one of the rows. There were one lakh of loaded camels who were crossing the river in 100 lines. On the tops of the loads women were placed. They fell into the furious water from the backs of camels. At this time one woman, cypress-like in stature with a narrow mouth like a pistachio-nut, and dark and charming eyes resembling almonds, red lips, arch-like eyebrows, and eyelashes looking like half-drawn arrows, and whose beauty might have victimized hundreds of men, was riding on a loaded camel, going in rows from one bank to the other. Her camel gave way before the current and she helplessly fell on my horse. Her body was on my saddle while the legs were dangling in water. She caught me by the back with both of her arms.

My back was breaking under her weight ; I was bent and my horse was trembling. In order to save myself from this agony I wished to throw myself into water. It was not the place where the owner of this fairy-like lady would have come to my assistance. Nor could my horse reach the bank because on all sides the path was blocked by thousands of camels. The woman too did not leave me and I was perturbed. Meanwhile the veil went off her face and the water sparkled by the reflection of her complexion. Even the sun also lost his lustre. I was overpowered by the look of her eyes. Her appearance was bright like the sun and its heat and light had burnt my heart and soul to ashes ; yet at such a dreadful time I was rather afraid of my own life and as she was not getting away from me I despised her. At last her owner came up and relieved me of the woman. Whenever I remember that day and that woman, I begin to tremble all over as if for fear of the doomsday.

"So many men were drowned in the river besides camels, horses, and other beasts of burden as were not even slain in the battles of the Sikhs." ¹

Ahmad Shah on crossing the river encamped on the opposite bank, and despatched Jahan Khan in advance to arrange for a bridge of boats on the Jhelum. The Shah now travelled leisurely covering about 10 miles everyday and thus allowed the troops a good rest. The Jhelum was safely crossed and they encamped in the fort of Rohtas. Here the Shah thanked Nasir Khan for his valuable help, granted him the territory of Quetta at his request and also offered him the neighbouring territories of Derajat, Multan and Jhang, which he respectfully declined to accept for fear of having every day trouble from the Sikhs. From here the Durrani went to Kabul *via* Attock and Peshawar, while Nasir Khan crossed the Indus at Dera Ismail Khan with the

¹ *Ibid.*, 186-90.

assistance of Ismail Khan and passing through Dera Ghazi Khan reached Kalat.¹

Thus the Panjab was left ultimately to the Panjabis. Being a wise statesman, Ahmad Shah had realised that among the exploited population of India, a section of society had succeeded in raising itself superior to him, and hence he was gratified by leaving a grateful and contented Sikh chief in the Cis-Sutlej country, on whom he could depend for an annual subsidy. The rest of the Panjab was lost to him for all intents and purposes.

9. *Eighth Invasion, 1766-67*

Ahmad Shah Abdali had left the Panjab in April, 1765, and only a month later the Sikhs expelled his Viceroy from Lahore, occupied the provincial capital and struck their own coin. Then they set themselves to the task of extending their territories by overcoming local opposition from various Muslim Chieftains.

The dauntless Ahmad Shah was not going to lose the most valuable province of his kingdom so easily. In the autumn of 1766, he left for India. He crossed the Indus at Attock early in December. On the other side of the Jhelum he was opposed by Ballam Singh and other Sikh chiefs at the head of 8,000 troops; but they were defeated and their leader slain.² The Sikhs again collected the remains of the defeated party, and made another attempt on this side of the Jhelum, but with equal ill success.³

On the 21st December, he was at Fazilabad near Lahore, and Sobha Singh, Lahna Singh, Gujar Singh, Hira Singh and Ajib Singh who were in Lahore with a body of 8,000 horse abandoned the fort. Gujar Singh and Lahna Singh retired to Kasur, whilst Ajib Singh and Sobha

¹ *Ibid.*, 190-210.

² *ibid.*

³ C. P. C. (ii, 16A)

Singh went to Baba Farid.¹ The same day Jahan Khan entered Lahore. Ahmad Shah reached here on the 22nd December. [Here a deputation of the noted Muslims of the city waited on the Abdali, and requested him to reinstate Lahna Singh as his viceroy of the Panjab, asserting that he was a very just and liberal ruler.² Ahmad Shah sent him a friendly letter and a present of dry fruits of Kabul and invited him to take charge of Lahore. Lahna Singh declined the offer of accepting office under him stating that by doing so he would fall in the estimation of the Sikhs. He also returned his fruit accompanied by a quantity of inferior kind of grain, stating that fruits were the food of kings while he was a poor *zamindar* and lived on the grain sent to him as a sample.³ Ahmad Shah then marched towards Sirhind.]

Charat Singh, Jassa Singh Kalal and Hira Singh lay encamped at Kalsah at the head of 20,000 cavalry. Tara

¹ The following saying came into existence on this occasion at the flight of the three confederate Sikh Chiefs from Lahore:—

”سوبه دی سوبھا گئی - گوچر دا گیا مال
لہنے نوں دینا آیا - تینوں ہوئے کنگال“

[Sobha (Singh) lost his honour (Sobha); Gujar (cowherd) (Singh) his cattle; and Lahna (to take) (Singh) had to pay; all three were ruined.]

² *Ali-ud-din*, 130a.

”کہ لہنا سنگھ بے شمار نیکدات و خیر خواہ خلائق بود کہ
باوجود اقتدار و آئین عناد این هر دو طائفہ ہنود و مسلمانین نہرود
روزیکہ یوم مبارک عیدالضحیٰ سے آید بقاضی و مفتی و امام مسجد
دستارہا میداد و اعزاز و اکرام عالمیان بے شمار می کرد“

³ *Khushwaqi Rai*, 129.

”بادشاہ قدرے میوہ برائے لہنا سنگھ فرستاد لہنا سنگھ ان
میوہات را واپس کرد و غلہ از قسم شامخ و ارزن و کا مرد زرد
بخدمت بادشاہ فرستاد کہ ان میوہ لائق پادشاہان است و این میوہ
غذائی ما مردم زمینداران است من زبان خوردن ان میوہ ندارم“

میرزا علی گنجی
میرزا علی گنجی
میرزا علی گنجی

Singh and Khushhal Singh with a body of 6,000 horse were stationed at Taragarh. On the 28th December, Ahmad Shah Abdali at the head of a select force of 50,000 horse and 7,000 *jizairchis* lay encamped at Fatahabad, 20 miles from Amritsar, while Jahan Khan had occupied Amritsar on the 27th December. Charat Singh and Lahna Singh attacked the Shah's baggage at Lahore, and Ahmad Shah was obliged to pursue them thither. The Sikhs, however, fled away; but kept hovering round about the Shah's camp within a radius of 15 to 25 miles.¹ They constantly harassed him and scornfully rejected all proposals of peace:—

Quoted "The Raja of Chamba sent a *Vakil* to the Sardars of the Sikhs, and Sa'adat Yar Khan of the family of Adina Beg sent them word that they should make peace with the Shah, since His Majesty had no intention of dispossessing them of their country, but was proceeding to Hindustan; that he would introduce them to His Majesty and settle what country they should cede and what sums they should pay, and that he would put them in possession of Lahore. The Sikhs abused the *Vakil* of the Raja of Chamba and drove him out of their army. They also wrote to Sa'adat Yar Khan refusing to make peace with the Shah."²

On the 15th January, 1767, Ahmad Shah Abdali was in the neighbourhood of Nur-ud-din-ka-Kot, from where he wrote to Jassa Singh Kalal, Jhanda Singh and Khushhal Singh that if they were desirous of entering his service, they should come and join him, but that if they had any hostile intention, they should meet him in the field. The Sikhs never replied to it.³

On the 17th January, 1767, Charat Singh, Hira Singh, Lahna Singh and Gujar Singh attacked Jahan Khan at Amritsar. In an engagement lasting for about three hours Jahan Khan was defeated, and five to six thousand Durrani

¹ C. P. C., ii, 36 and 108A.

² *Ibid.*, 108A.

³ *Ibid.*, 50.

were killed and wounded. Ahmad Shah immediately came to his assistance and obliged the Sikhs to fly towards Lahore. Another batch of the Sikhs fell on the Abdali camp at Jalalabad on the Beas, but they were repulsed by Nasir Khan who was in charge of it.¹

Panala Chiefs express loyalty to Abdali

Ahmad Shah crossed the river Beas the same day. On the 18th January, the *Vakil* of Amar Singh and Himmat Singh of Patiala, came and presented Ahmad Shah with Rs. 5,000 and two horses as *nazar*. To Shah Vali Khan and Jahan Khan he presented Rs. 2,000 each. The *Vakil* of the son of Rai Kalha also waited on the Shah. The Shah gave orders to the *Vakils* to write to their respective masters to come into the presence. At Nur Mahal Amar Singh joined him. Abdali crossed the Sutlej and halted at Machhiwara where he was again attacked by the Sikhs.²

Ahmad Shah marched as far as Ismailabad, 20 miles south of Ambala, where he was joined by Najib-ud-daulah on the 9th March. Najib persuaded the Shah to march back and to devote all his energies to the extirpation of the Sikhs. Consequently, he set off backward on the 17th March. He was at Ambala on the 18th, and called upon Amar Singh to pay nine lakhs of rupees as the revenue of Sirhind. At Sirhind Ahmad Shah granted Amar Singh a robe of honour, a standard and kettle-drum and the *subahdari* of Sirhind accompanied by the superlative title of *Raja-i-Rajagan*. Thus Ahmad Shah was contented to leave behind at least one grateful and obedient Sikh Chief.³

Ahmad Shah halted at Machhiwara on the bank of the Sutlej and stayed here for a month and a half. He

¹ *Ibid.*, 65.

² *Ibid.*, 79 and 139; S.P.D., xxix, 119 and 165.

³ C. P. C., ii, 107C and D. 130A, 213, 214, 234, 254, 266, 415; *Delhi Chronicle*, 211; *Nur-ud-din*, 109b-110a; *Husain Shahi*, 84-5; *Khushwaqt Rai*, 168; *Gyan Singh*, 1041; *Cunningham*, 113; *Rajas of the Punjab*, 33.

organized various expeditions in pursuit of the Sikhs. The Sikhs gathered at Amritsar to celebrate the Baisakhi. "The Sikhs to the number of 120,000 men, both horse and foot, all faithful to one another and equipped for war are assembled at Chak."¹ But Abdali could not summon up courage to attack them. One body of the Sikhs had managed to reach Najib's country in the Gangetic Doāb. They sacked Nanautah on the 14th May, and plundered Ambahta, Meerut and the Barha Sadat settlements in Muzaffarnagar District. Ahmad Shah despatched Jahan Khan in their pursuit, and he reached their camp about 125 miles away in three days. The Sikhs were taken quite unawares, and were engaged in a fight between Shamli and Kairana. The Sikhs were routed and a large number of them were slain.² Jahan Khan came back to Machhiwara in the course of a week. After this Ahmad Shah Abdali marched homeward.³ A despatch stated: "The Sikhs are so strong in numbers that it is impossible for the Shah to reduce them till after a long time."⁴

10. *Ninth Invasion, December, 1768 to January, 1769*

Ahmad Shah Abdali attempted to invade India about the close of 1768. But on this occasion his fortunes were at the lowest ebb. His physical strength was waning day by day on account of excessive fatigue caused by his numerous expeditions not only in India, but also in various parts of Afghanistan, Turkistan and Khorasan. For some time past he had been suffering from a festering wound in the nose which had developed into a cancer. His mental worries also were not few on account of constant disturbances in his own country, while India which was the only

¹ C. P. C., ii, 345.

² 9,000 according to Miskin who was present in the campaign. Cf. Miskin, 268.

³ C. P. C., ii, 412; *Nur-ud-din*, 111b-112b; Miskin, 267-8.

⁴ C. P. C., ii, 393.

rich part of his kingdom was gradually slipping away from his hold owing to the rise of the Sikhs in the Panjab. His Afghan followers were growing rebellious due to the failure of his recent Indian expeditions. The result was that this campaign miserably failed. He came as far as the Chenab, while his advance-guard arrived at Eminabad only 34 miles from Lahore; but "owing to dissensions among his followers, he was compelled to return to his own country. On the way between Peshawar and Kabul a tumult arose in his army, his whole camp was plundered, and many of his chiefs and soldiers were either killed or dispersed. The Shah and Shah Wali Khan, his Wazir, in a miserable plight, took the road to Kandahar."¹

1669
Jan

11. Tenth Invasion, December, 1769-January, 1770

About the close of 1769, Ahmad Shah Durrani made his last attempt to replenish his treasury and to turn the attention of his turbulent Afghans from home affairs to the glory which he wished to win once more in the fertile fields and rich cities of India. He, however, had lost control over his followers to such an extent that they were not prepared to undertake the risky and hazardous journey through the territory of warlike Sikhs in order to reach the country on the other side of the Jumna, flowing with milk and honey. Consequently they accompanied him without any hesitation as far as Peshawar to avoid the bitter cold of Afghanistan and to enjoy the mild and pleasant climate of the most salubrious province of India at the expense of the Shah. But they did not accompany him farther, and do not appear to have crossed the Indus on this occasion.²

¹ C. P. C., ii, 1499; *Imperial Records, Bengal Select Committee Proceedings*, 1769, pp. 134, 195, 203, 238, Richard Smith to Harry Verelst, President and Governor of Fort William, dated Allahabad, 17th February, 9th March, 19th March, and 8th April, 1769.

² *Imperial Records, Bengal Select Committee*, 1770, pp. 52, 57, Captain Gabriel Harper to John Cartier, dated Faizabad, 26th January, 1770.

These records speak of another effort of Ahmad Shah Durrani, which,

This was the last invasion of Ahmad Shah Durrani. In spite of his best and constant efforts he ultimately failed in suppressing a militant nation, closely knit together by ties of race and religion, and possessed of invincible courage and irresistible will.

12. *Death, Achievement and Character*

Ahmad Shah's health considerably declined early in 1772. Realizing that his end had come, he summoned his chiefs to an assembly, and nominated his son Timur Shah his successor. From Kandahar, he retired to a place he had built at Toba Mahārūf in the Achakzai country in the Suleman Mountains, where the summer was cooler. Here he died at Murgha on the 14th April, 1772.¹

Ahmad Shah was buried in his favourite city of Kandahar. His tomb is octagonal in form which stands in the heart of the city, surrounded by grassy lawns, apartments and mulberry

however, did not materialise: "Ahmad Shah Durrani has marched from Kandahar to Peshawar, and intends entering Hindustan on the breaking up of the rains." (*Ibid* : 259, dated 19th July, 1770.)

"A rumour prevails that Ahmad Shah Abdali is advancing towards Hindustan." (*Ibid.*, November 23, 1770, dated Fyzabad, 31st October, 1770, p. 199.)

In August, 1771, there were strong rumours of Ahmad Shah's approach in the coming winter. General Barker, however, expressed his satisfaction in a letter to Jhanda Singh that he would not be able to cross the Indus for fear of the Sikhs. C. P. C., iii, 868.

Jahan Khan, the celebrated Commander-in-Chief of Ahmad Shah Durrani, died of colic on the 14th March, 1770 *Delhi Chronicle*, 225.

¹ *Malleson*, 291-2 ; *Hough*, 135, f. n. ; *Elphinstone's Caubul*, 557 and other European writers place this event in June, 1773. The inscription on the grave of Ahmad Shah at Kandahar says : "When he died, the Hijra year was 1186." This year lasted from the 4th April, 1772 to the 24th March, 1773. *Delhi Chronicle*, p. 250 says that Ahmad Shah Durrani died on the 14th April, 1772. *Husain Shahi*, 88, supports this date.

In the same day's entry the *Delhi Chronicle* records that the Sikhs crossed the Indus and plundered Peshawar.

trees, is one of the most interesting and imposing objects of the town. It cost about Rs. 90,000. It has a gilt cupola of about 30 feet in diameter and 60 feet in height. There is a gallery round it and minarets at angles. The ceiling is gilded. The corners are covered with Arabic inscriptions which contain numerous blessings on the soul of the king. The Persian inscription on the grave gives the date of his death :

" The king of high rank, Ahmad Shah Durrani,
Was equal to Kisra (Cyrus) in managing the affairs of
his government,
In his time, from the awe of his glory and greatness,
The lioness nourished the stag with her milk.
From all sides in the ears of his enemies there arrived
A thousand reproofs from the tongue of his dagger.
The date of his departure for the house of immortality
Was the year of the Hijra 1186. "¹

Alexander Dow painted the following picture of him in 1768 : " This prince is brave and active, but he is now in the decline of life. His person is tall and robust, and inclinable to being fat. His face is remarkably broad, his beard very black, and his complexion moderately fair. His appearance, upon the whole, is majestic and expressive of an uncommon dignity and strength of mind. Though he is not so fierce and cruel as Nadir Shah, he supports his authority with no less rigour, and he is by no means less brave than that extraordinary monarch. He, in short, is the most likely person now in India to restore the ancient power of the empire, should he assume the title of king of Delhi. "²

Ahmad Shah Abdali was one of the greatest conquerors who have ever appeared in Asia. His chief contribution

¹ Hough, 134-5 ; Kennedy, 251-2 ; Masson, i, 281 ; Mohan Lal's Travels, 316 ; Malleson, 292 ; Havelock, ii, 13-5.

² Alexander Dow, ii, Appendix, 81.

lies in the fact that he was the creator of independent Afghanistan. A conquered people who had remained subject for centuries were converted by his genius into conquerors, and the nation which he called into life has existed during the past two hundred years in spite of numerous trials and hardships it had to face partly from foreign aggression and partly from internal turmoils. At the time of his death he left a vast empire to the Afghans, extending in the north from the Oxus and mountains of Kafaristan to the Sea of Oman in the south, and in the east from the mountains of Tibet and Kashmir to Khorasan, Iran and Kerman in the west. It consisted of Kashmir, Peshawar, Multan, Sind, Kabul, Kandahar, Baluchistan, Herat, Persian Khorasan, Balkh and Khulam.

He adopted a different policy regarding various parts of his kingdom. In his dealings with Afghans and Baluches he pursued the principle of conciliation. He tried to please and win over the people first and the chiefs afterwards. The chiefs who could not be reconciled were reduced by force, and then treated kindly. He won over the people by giving equal consideration to the many tribes of Afghans, and several tribes of doubtful origin, but speaking the Pashto language, specially those living in the Farrah district and along the Helmund river were connected with the genuine Afghans.

Besides, he enforced many humane reforms in order to win their good-will and co-operation. He stopped the form of punishment requiring the loss of limbs such as nose or ears, and forbade his successors to revive this cruel practice. The Durrani were required not to marry their girls to strangers, and advised to ally themselves with one another. With a view to keep the patrimony intact he issued instructions that in future the family property should be inherited only by the sons, and the daughters, who up to that time received a share, should be entirely excluded. Further, at the death of an Afghan, the widow was to be married

to the next of kin, with the exception of father and son. In case of death of a married woman without an issue, her relatives could not demand dowry from her husband. It is believed that he abolished the system of divorce. A master could not kill his servant. He gave up the practice of prostration before the sovereign, who was to be saluted by carrying the hand to the forehead without bending. The Sayyids and priests were granted the privilege of sitting in the presence of the king, and also of dining with him on Thursdays. His troops were paid in his presence. He did not impose heavy taxes on his people, and "the revenues of Afghanistan, properly so termed, never found their way into his private coffers."¹

The chiefs were kept contented by giving them a share in the administration of the kingdom. He extended their powers, though they were made dependent on him. He formed a council composed of the leading chiefs of various tribes. They were consulted on almost all the important state affairs, and their advice was often adopted. "His government in short resembled much more a federated republic of which he was the head, than an absolute monarchy. After a victory he always gave up a large part of the spoils of the enemy to his soldiers; he never adopted an arrogant tone of superiority with their chiefs which could hurt the feelings of those with whom he had once been on equal terms, and who had elevated him to the sovereign power."²

The other parts of his kingdom were not treated so liberally. The territories in Turkistan were ruled over by force; but the Tartar chiefs were retained in their positions, and treated with moderation. In Khorasan some chiefs were attached by favour, others by taking hostages from them, and the rest by coercion. Unfortunately, "the Indian provinces were kept by force alone,"³ and the

¹ Ferrier, 93-4.

² *Ibid.*, 95.

³ Elphinstone's *Cabul*, 557.

massacres of Delhi, Ballabgarh, Mathura, Brindaban, Agra, Panipat and Kup and the destruction and pollution of the Sikh temples and tank at Amritsar will remain for ever the "terrible blemishes on his reputation," and "an indelible stain on the glory" of this great leader.¹ To him India was the land of gold, and his supreme passion for money was the leading feature in his dealings with her. He indulged in massacres not because he possessed a blood thirsty temperament; and under the influence of his pacific chief minister, Shah Wali Khan, he must have desisted from these outrages, had it not been for the fact that he wanted to give a thrill of life and enjoyment to his Afghan followers and to satisfy his allies, the Indian Muslim chiefs particularly the Rohillas, who delighted in innocent bloodshed of poor Hindus and Sikhs.

Sayyid Muhammad Latif justifies the Durrani atrocities committed in this country. In his *History of the Panjab* on page 284 he writes:—"Moreover nothing could have proved so gratifying and satisfactory to them as the carrying out of the work of iconoclasm, since their Unitarian faith cannot tolerate idolatry. There can be no doubt that the Abdali acted in strict conformity with the law of his religion, and was actuated by a sense of duty, when he undertook the destruction of the sanctuaries of the Sikhs."

Cunningham calls him "an ideal Afghan genius, fitted for conquest but incapable of empire." He did create an empire, but he failed in consolidating it. Its causes are not far to seek. The urgent necessity for money compelled him to undertake long and tedious Indian campaigns which absorbed most of his attention and time. At home he had no peace. "Herat, Nishapur, the remoter parts of Khorasan, Meshad and other regions, constantly demanded his attention. In 1752, there was a rebellion of the nephew of Ahmad Shah as also of the Khiljis. In 1756, there were

¹ *Calcutta Review*, Vol. li, 1870, pp. 21 and 40.

disturbances in the direction of Persia and Turkestan. In 1758, there was a rebellion in Baluchistan. In 1763, there was an insurrection in Kandahar, another in Herat. In 1768, there was a great rebellion in Khorasan, occasioned by Nasirullah Mirza. Most of the Persian chiefs took part in it and a great battle had to be fought at Meshad.¹ Besides, the ever-recurring troubles created by the Sikhs in the Panjab deprived him of whatever peace of mind he could enjoy. In the face of such stupendous obstacles and difficulties he naturally fell short of his own expectations for consolidating his gigantic kingdom consisting of a jumble of tribes and discordant elements. Nobody can deny the fact that he was not only a bold and brilliant soldier but also a far-sighted and forceful statesman.

In personal character he was simple, modest, affable, generous and cheerful. The author of *Tarikh-i-Sultani* while describing an incident says—"Ahmad Shah had no second or equal to him in character; in spite of his perfect dignity he assumed the manners of a *faqir*, and his extreme meekness, which was known everywhere gained universal approbation. It is said to have extended so far that when during the siege of Nishapur the troops were kept without pay and conjointly plundered the Shah's treasury, the keeper of it complained of the robbery and receiving no answer, began to use disrespectful language towards Ahmad Shah, who then said:—"Ignorant fool! I am also one of them, and have attained this dignity by their consent, and with the help of their swords; I have called them partners in my monarchy, so that whenever they require some of my property—which is their own—and I refuse to grant it, I shall incur the blame of the creator as well as of men²."

On state occasions, however, he maintained his dignity by displaying considerable courtly pomp and

¹ *Sinha*, 90.

² *The Indian Antiquary*, xvi, 1887, p. 302.

show. He was easy of access, and administered justice on principles of equity and law of the land. "A very Afghan to the Afghans,...he was yet almost the anti-thesis of the national character of his people. They are cold and cruel, he was courtly in spite of his soldier plainness, and clement; they are impetuous and reckless, he was far-seeing and singularly patient in carrying out his plans; they are rude, uncultivated and careless of learning, he was polished, a poet, a divine, and a man who took a profound delight in the society of the learned; they are intriguing, impatient of control, and bear their engagements lightly, he was the best politician of his time, a man with an instinct for order and discipline, and loyal in word and deed. Add to this that he was above the influence of the harem, a foe to drunkenness, and renowned for his generosity and charity, and the portrait is as unlike what is understood to be the Afghan national character as it can well be. And still Ahmad Shah is, in all the countries he left to his successor, remembered as a great, a wise, and a good prince, and in his own land and amongst his own people he is regarded as the most glorious type of the nation, and as the most finished model for its rulers."¹

¹ *Calcutta Review*, Vol. li, 1870, p. 40 - cf. *Jamal-ud-din*, 58-9.

1770-1774

1774-1793

CHAPTER VII

TIMUR SHAH DURRANI'S CAMPAIGNS IN THE
PANJAB, 1774-17931. *Early Career*

Born Dec 1746

Accompanied
father in 4th Inv.
1757

IN 1772 Ahmad Shah was succeeded by his son Timur Shah who was born in December, 1746, at Meshad in Iran where his father was in the service of Nadir Shah. Timur was educated at home, and received practical training in the art of warfare by accompanying Ahmad Shah on many of his expeditions. He was present in Delhi in January, 1757, when his father had invaded India for the fourth time. In February, 1757, Timur Shah was married to the daughter of Emperor Alamgir II. In March of the same year, while heading a detachment carrying booty from Delhi to Lahore, he was robbed by the Sikhs. A Marathi letter of this time stated:—

"At the end of March, 1757, when the front division of Abdali's army under Prince Timur was transporting the plundered wealth of Delhi to Lahore, Alha Singh (the founder of Patiala family), in concert with other Sikh robbers, barred his path at Sanaur (4 miles south-east of Patiala) and robbed him of half his treasures, and again attacked and plundered him at Malerkot (36 miles north-west of Patiala). So great had been the success of these brigands that rumour had magnified it into the Prince's captivity and even death at their hands."¹

married
to daughter
of Alamgir II
Jahan
Khan

In May, 1757, Timur Shah was appointed Viceroy of the Panjab, Derajat and Sind by his father, with Jahan Khan,

¹ *Rajwade*, i, 85; *Sarkār*, ii, 712.

May 1757
appointed Viceroy

11 years old
Jahan Khan
the Commander-in-Chief, as his guardian and deputy. At that time the Prince was only eleven years old, and therefore, the entire administration was centred in the hands of Jahan Khan. The Afghan noble did not possess the qualities of a good administrator. His relations with the Sikhs were bitter, and the latter continually harassed the former. They crossed swords a number of times, all of which are vividly described by Miskin who took an active part in all the engagements. Miskin has no hesitation in asserting that "from that moment the peace and orderly rule which had been recently established in the country disappeared and the Sikhs rose in rebellion on all sides."¹

Drawn out in April 1758
The Sikhs then joined Adina Beg Khan, the famous Governor of the Jullundur Doab, and with the assistance of the Marathas defeated and drove out Jahan Khan and Timur Shah from the Panjab in April, 1758. Afterwards Timur Shah served as Governor of Multan and Herat.

Ahmad Shah was taken ill early in 1772. He went from Kandahar to Toba² Maharuf, a hill station; but his condition grew worse. At that time Timur Shah was the Governor of Herat and Khorasan as far as Neshapur. On hearing that his father was dying, he left for Kandahar to see him; but before he reached his destination Ahmad Shah ordered him to return immediately to his seat of government, probably under the influence of his Chief Minister Shah Wali Khan, who was interested in the succession of another Prince. Early in April Ahmad Shah realized that his end was drawing very near. Consequently,

¹ Miskin, 165.

² Toba is an irregular range of rocky mountains, estimated to have an elevation of nearly 9,000 ft. There are many pleasant spots in these mountains. Conolly states that "between the long and severe winters which the inhabitants of these hills experience, they enjoy a very delicious climate. The tops of the hills are table-lands, which are greatly cultivated by means of springs everywhere in abundance." "The water was like running diamonds, the plentiful fresh verdure as a carpet of emeralds, and the air like the odour of musk." Thornton, ii, 271.

he summoned a council of his chiefs, nominated Timur Shah his successor, and made all the nobles present there swear fealty to the Prince. Shortly afterward he died.

Timur Shah was at Herat when he learnt the news of his father's death and his own nomination to the throne. Timur was the second of the eight sons¹ of Ahmad Shah. His father had selected him in view of his being the worthiest of all of them. Shah Vali Khan, the prime minister, was, however, interested in the eldest prince, Suleman, to whom he had married his daughter. On Ahmad Shah's death, he called a council of the Durrani chiefs to choose their king, and Suleman was raised to the throne. But Abdullah Khan Popalzai, who held the high office of Diwan Begi, and who was at the head of another rival party, declared in favour of Timur.

Timur Shah at once hurried from Herat to Kandahar, and won over some Durrani chiefs. Shah Vali Khan's attempt to collect an army to oppose Timur Shah failed, and he immediately made offers of submission. He was not allowed to see Timur Shah as the courtiers were afraid of his magic tongue, which they expected would certainly influence the king. He was tried and condemned to death for treason. Timur Shah thus became the undisputed master of his father's vast dominions. Kandahar, being the stronghold of the Durrani tribe, many of whom were the partisans of the late Wazir, was not liked by Timur as the seat of his government. Consequently, he transferred his capital to Kabul "inhabited by Tajiks, the most quiet and submissive of all the subjects of the Afghan monarchy."²

Having ascended the throne Timur Shah struck coins in

¹ The names of six of his sons are known:—

Suleman, Timur, Dārāb, Shahāb, Sikandar and Parvez. *The Indian Antiquary*, xvi, 303.

² *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 143-50; Elphinstone's *Caulbul*, 558-9; Malleson, 29-34.

his name which bore the following inscription:—

”چرخ می آرد طلا و نقره از خورشید و ماه
تا کند بر چهره نقشی سکه تیمور شاه“

[Heaven brings gold and silver from the sun and moon, In order that the stamp of Timur Shah be fixed on the face (of the metals).]¹

His seal had this inscription:—

”علم شد از عنایات الهی بعالم دولت تیمور شاهی“

(Through the grace of God, the kingdom of Timur Shah became conspicuous in the world.)²

2. 1st Invasion of the Panjab, 1774-75

Timur Shah was a man of peaceful temperament, and preferred devoting his attention chiefly to consolidating his disjointed kingdom. He did not interfere much in the Indian affairs. But the political atmosphere in this country was never free from fear. On account of his father's repeated exploits, we find some Indian potentates keeping themselves in touch with the political situation in Afghanistan. There was also an exchange of ambassadors, letters and presents between these two countries. On several occasions weak powers sought assistance from the Afghan monarch; while strong ones kept themselves alert to cope with the situation in case of an actual invasion from the north-west.

¹ Timur Shah's earliest coins struck in India bear the date of 1774 and the name of Attock mint. The inscriptions on them are as follows:—

Obverse	Reverse
سکه تیمور شاه	مانوسی
نقش ۱۱۸۸	میمنت
و ماه تا کند بر چهره	جلوس
شید	ضرب
چرخ می آرد طلا و نقره از خور	اتک سده ۲

Whitehead, iii, 59.

² Whitehead, iii, 59; Latif's History of the Panjab, 289, f. n.

About two years after his accession Timur Shah sent two ambassadors, Muhammad Raza Khan and Alahdad Khan to Delhi. They reached the capital in June, 1774, and were granted robes of honour by Shah Alam II. Abdul Ahad Khan, the deputy-wazir, informed the king that Timur Shah was contemplating an invasion of India;¹ but a message that arrived at Delhi on the 28th June dispelled all fears of the expected campaign. It stated that Timur Shah was at Kabul. Abdul Khaliq Khan, a Durrani Chief, invited Nasir Khan Baluch to plunder Kandahar, and he in consequence created disturbances in that quarter. Khaqubad Khan, the chief of Badakhshan, was plundering Timur Shah's country on the other side of Herat. Princes Suleman Shukoh and Sikandar Shah were making warlike preparations against the king. The Durrani chiefs were disaffected and were entering into an alliance with the above Princes. These disorders wholly occupied Timur's attention.²

Shortly afterwards a conspiracy was hatched to assassinate Timur Shah and to place on the throne his nephew Sikandar Khan, a son of Suleman. Faizullah Khan Khalil, a chief of Mohmand tribe, was at the head of the plot. He invited Timur Shah to the Panjab to crush the power of the Sikhs promising to help the Shah with a large number of troops, and with his permission raised a force of 25,000 men.

Timur Shah embraced this opportunity to recover his lost territories in India, and marched to the Panjab in November, 1774. At Peshawar Faizullah Khan placed his men at the disposal of the Shah. Timur led them onward, and they crossed the Indus at Attock on the 15th January, 1775. Milkha Singh of Rawalpindi and some other Sikhs boldly advanced to check his progress. In a skirmish that followed the Sikhs were defeated. They immediately fell back and halted on the banks of the Chenab.³

¹ C.P.C., iv, 1116

² Ibid., 1121.

³ Delhi Chronicle, 285.

The audacity of the Sikhs, however, succeeded in achieving its object. Timur Shah realized the weakness of his army in view of its being small in number. He, therefore, gave up the idea of proceeding farther into the heart of the Sikh country and retired to Peshawar. Timur Shah stayed there for a couple of months to avoid the rigour of winter of Kabul, and took up his abode in the Bala Hissar. It offered a good opportunity to Faizullah Khan to execute his cunning design of murdering the Shah. He won over Yaqut Khan, head of the eunuchs, the guard of the royal harem. The scheme was that when the king was at his siesta in the afternoon, and his personal guards were also asleep, Faizullah Khan and his men would be permitted by Yaqut Khan to enter the palace. Consequently, 2,500 hill riflemen and about the same number of men of Peshawar quietly surrounded the citadel, where several thousand Qizalbash horsemen, the guards of the king, were stationed. They were told that the King had sent for them inside the fort, and in view of the high position of Faizullah Khan they let them in. Some of Faizullah's men entered the royal kitchen to partake of the delicious victuals. Muhammad Tayyab of Lahore, the Nazir, and Iltifat Khan eunuch who were in the kitchen were severely wounded. The women attendants of the harem immediately awakened Timur Shah and informed him of the serious conspiracy. On hearing the sound of footsteps he perceived the impending danger and quickly hid himself at the top of the tower of the citadel. The conspirators searched for him, but nobody suspected him in the tower. When they were retiring in disappointment, the king shouted to his guards from the place of hiding and by waving his turban in air gave an alarm. The assassins tried to break through the door of the tower, but it being of iron resisted all their attempts. Meanwhile the guards were up. Faizullah Khan and some of his hill men made good their escape, taking shelter in the impenetrable hills of Hashtnagar, while many were cut to pieces. Timur's wrath, however, fell upon the people of

namun to
Peshawar in
faizullah

Peshawar, and in a moment of fury he ordered a massacre, in which nearly one-third of the male population (6,000 men) perished. Yaqut Khan was killed by pouring boiling-oil over his head.

Timur Shah was determined to secure the head of Faizullah Khan. Realising the futility of getting him by force he resorted to cunning. He made it a point to declare almost everyday in the public as well as in private that Faizullah Khan was not to blame, that he had been occasionally harsh to him, which led him to take that step, and that he had forgiven him. When he was sure that this news had reached him, he sent him a letter of pardon written and sealed on a leaf of the Holy Koran. It was conveyed to him by a great noble of the court. Faizullah Khan believing in the sanctity of the holy book came to Kabul to express sorrow at his misdeed. He was beheaded the same day he entered the city.¹

3. Second Invasion and the Conquest of Multan, 1779-80

The political horizon in India was again surcharged with the news of a fresh Durrani invasion. As early as October, 1775, it was known that Mughal Emperor Shah Alam II at the suggestion of Abdul Ahad Khan had invited Timur Shah to invade India, proposing to effect "a double marriage between their children." News, perhaps unreliable, was received to the effect that a part of Timur Shah's army had crossed the Indus at Attock. As Nasir Khan Baluch was rising in open rebellion, and the Sikhs were ready to oppose Timur's advance, the latter did not undertake the expedition.²

The fears of the impending invasion were again allayed by a report received here in February, 1776, stating that

¹ Husain Shahi, 97-101; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 152-3; Ferrier, 102-4.

² *Forrest's Selections*, 1772-85, vol. ii, p. 442, dated the 8th November, 1775.

Timur Shah's position had been considerably weakened. Timur was "represented as indolent and addicted to pleasure and liquor." The Sikhs who were in possession of the provinces of Lahore and Multan formed a "tolerable barrier" against any attempt of Timur Shah to disturb the powers of Hindustan. Sind, though, a dependency of Afghanistan, reduced the amount of tribute to seven lakhs, which also was not regularly paid. Nasir Khan Baluch did not acknowledge the overlordship of the Afghan monarch.

"Many of the chiefs or nobility, who hold land on the feudal tenure of furnishing troops are highly discontented and pay little respect to the authority of their sovereign." The chief of Bahawalpur, though tributary to Timur Shah treated "his authority with little respect."¹

In 1778 Timur Shah sent Baharu Khan to seize Multan; but he having taken a long time over it was recalled and was succeeded by Madad Khan. He was also made to retire after some time.²

Timur Shah thereupon decided to conquer Multan himself, and sent a contingent of 15,000 horse as his advance-guard. This force was opposed by the Sikhs on the banks of the Indus; but in the conflict they were defeated. Finding the Sikhs scattered about everywhere, this contingent considered it advisable to retire to Peshawar and to wait there for the arrival of the main body. The news of Timur Shah's invasion alarmed even the British Government, who heaved a sigh of relief on learning that his activities were to be exclusively confined to the country of

¹ *Imperial Records, Secret Proceedings*, the 26th February, 1776, pp 651-6.

² *Shahamat Ali*, 63-4; *Shah Yusuf*, 65, states that Baharu Khan had entered the town by breaking into a wall, and sacked the city so thoroughly that "none was left anything with him."

On this occasion Timur Shah's ambassador, Abdul Jabbar Khan, reached Delhi on the 12th March, 1778, and waited on Emperor Shah Alam II on the 26th March, 1778. *Munna Lal*, 206.

the Sikhs. "But allowing this rumour to be true," says a Government report, "it is not supposed, nor is it indeed likely that his progress will extend beyond the remote bounds of the Seik territory as the season is so far advanced and the separate bodies of Seiks from the different districts are waiting to oppose him."¹

In view of the serious opposition of the Sikhs, the Durrani agents at Delhi tried to secure assistance from the notable Maratha chief Mahadji Sindhia, so that the Sikhs might be attacked from two fronts. Mahadji, however, cleverly put them off.²

Timur Shah left Kabul for India in October, 1779, and halted at Peshawar. He at first tried to recover Multan by diplomacy. He sent Haji Ali Khan³ as his agent to the Sikhs at the head of a few horsemen to frighten the Sikhs of the coming conflict with the "lions of Islam" and of the terrible consequences of "the royal wrath," and to persuade them to retire from Multan voluntarily. The Sikhs held a council and declared that "here is an ambassador of the Shah; but our king is Sat Guru. This man threatens us with the Shah's displeasure; we should therefore put him to death." Consequently, they tied him to a tree, and shot him dead.

On learning this sad news Timur Shah detached a force of 18,000 men under Zangi Khan Durrani. He advanced by forced marches towards Rohtas where a great Sikh force was lying encamped. Zangi Khan wanted to take them unawares, and issued strict orders to maintain perfect

¹ *Imperial Records, Foreign Department, Select Proceedings*, the 19th April, 1779, pp. 599-600, dated the 5th March, 1779.

² *C.P.C.*, v, 1639, dated 12th October, 1779. A news-letter dated 12th September, 1779 near Karnal states that Ram Dyal gave the information about Timur Shah's having arrived at Peshawar and of his advance-guard having crossed the Jhelum. *British Museum Persian Akhbarat*, Or. 25,021, folio 247a.

³ Gyan Singh, p. 908 wrongly calls him Hasan Ali Khan.

secrecy of his own movements.¹ He halted at a distance of eight *kos* from the Sikh camp and posted guards on all sides to imprison anyone going towards the direction of the Sikhs. After midnight Zangi Khan organized his troops. The Mughals and Qizalbashes were on his right and the Durrani on his left. He himself remained in the centre at the head of a Yusafzai contingent. The Sikhs were absolutely ignorant of their presence, considering them to be at Peshawar, about 200 miles distant. Early in the morning a little before daybreak he fell upon the Sikhs. "These people, cowards as jackals and cunning like fox, on seeing brave warriors close at hand, jumped in the twinkling of an eye on their horses and got ready to fight. So tough was the resistance offered by the Sikhs that Zangi Khan was filled with despair. He took off his turban and prayed to God for victory. The prayer was granted and the enemy took to flight. The Afghans gave them a hot pursuit. About 30,000 Sikhs (should be 3,000²) were slain, and 500 drowned in the river in the attempt at crossing the river; while 2,000 of them safely reached the opposite bank."³

Early in January, 1780, Timur Shah laid siege to the town of Multan. The Sikh force being smaller in number took shelter within the city walls. Timur Shah, however, expected reinforcements for the Sikh garrison, and in that event he considered his own resources insufficient. He therefore at the head of a select contingent marched to Bahawalpur leaving the major portion of his army at Multan

¹ The author of *Husain Shahi* states that nobody talked on the way, and even if one wanted to drink water, he indicated his desire by gestures alone.

² Cf. also *Haqiqat Bina*, 40; *Sinha's Rise of the Sikh Power*, 113-4.

³ *Husain Shahi*, 101-8; *Tarikh-i-Ahmad Shah*, 21; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 154-5; *Shamshir Khalsa*, 113-4; *Sinha's Rise of the Sikh Power*, 112-3. Elphinstone speaks of this battle thus:—

"He (Timur Shah) sent a light force in advance against a Sikh army near Multan which moved on by very rapid marches, surprised the Sikhs and totally defeated them." *Caubul*, 561.

to secure reinforcements for himself. The Nawab of Bahawalpur gave the Shah 12,000 troops and Ghulam Ali Khan Letti paid him tribute. Just then came the news that Jassa Singh, Gujar Singh, Haqiqat Singh, Lahna Singh and Bhangra Singh and other Sikh chiefs were coming from Lahore at the head of 15,000 horsemen for the relief of Multan. Timur Shah at once hurried from Bahawalpur towards Multan, and met the relieving Sikh force at Shujabad, where a severe battle was fought on the 8th February, 1780, from morning till afternoon. The Sikhs lost the day with 2,000¹ men in killed and wounded, and then they fled towards Lahore. Timur Shah despatched a detachment of 20,000 strong in pursuit of them. This force overtook the Sikhs at Hujra Muqim Khan², 40 miles west of Lahore. The Shah's troops were successful, but they returned to Multan, plundering the country on their way as they went.

From Shujabad Timur hurried to Multan and delivered an assault on the town which fell after a short resistance. Timur ordered a general massacre in the city and the people suffered terribly. The Sikh army consisting of 7,000 horse retired to the fort which was besieged in turn. Negotiations for capitulation were commenced soon after, and the Sikh garrison in view of shortage of provisions expressed willingness to surrender provided they were allowed to depart for their homes in peace.³ This condition was accepted and the fort fell into Timur Shah's hands on the 18th February, 1780. Muzaffar Khan was appointed Governor of Multan at the head of 20,000 horse; whilst Shuja'at

¹ *Haqiqat Bina wa Aruj-i-Sikhan*, p. 40, puts the number at 700 only.

² Gyan Singh says that this fight took place at Sheikhpura. *Shamshir Khalsa*, 114.

³ At this Forster on p. 324 remarks:—"Which the Sicques, contrary to the spirit of their national character, evacuated, after a weak resistance. This surrender might on the first view be termed pusillanimous, especially when the inactive disposition of Timur is considered; but it seems to have been a natural consequence of their eternal divisions, and the fears entertained by the body at large, of the increase of individual power."

Khan, Azim Khan and several other Afghan chiefs were given to him as assistants. Timur stayed in Multan for a fortnight, and then retired to Afghanistan.¹

4. Third Invasion, 1780-81

By the close of the rainy season of 1780, the Indian atmosphere was again filled with rumours of a fresh invasion by Timur Shah. A news-letter issued from the Emperor's court dated the 19th September, 1780, stated that two letters of Timur Shah, one addressed to Nawab Amir-ul-Umara Najaf Khan, and the other to Zabita Khan, were received in Delhi.² Another entry of the 25th September reported that Timur Shah had sent letters to the Raja of Jammu, Muzaffar Khan, the Governor of Multan, and Zabita Khan, asking them to collect grain for his troops³. On the 27th September it was recorded that Timur Shah had decided to leave for India on the 4th October, 1780, and that Mughal Ali Khan had been appointed leader of the advance-guard, and that letters had been written to the Sikhs.⁴ A note of the Emperor's court of the 3rd October, 1780, stated that Timur Shah was in Kabul up to the 26th August, and would march to India on the 1st October.⁵ On the 12th October it was recorded that Timur Shah was

¹ *British Museum Persian MS., Muntakhab-i-Akhbar*, 25,020, vol. i, 3b, 4b, 10b, 11b, 18b, 19b, 20b, 21a, 22a, 24b, 30a, 31a, 36a, 38a, 40b, 42b, 47b, 48a, 60a; *C.P.C.*, v, 1843; *Ali-ud-din*, 135a-137a; *Bute Shah*, 212a-b; *Shahamat Ali*, 64; *Griffin's Punjab Chiefs*, 482; *Elphinstone*, 561; *Shah Yusaf*, 66b-68a; *Browne*, ii, 28; *Latif's Panjab*, 229.

There took place at that time an exchange of presents between Timur Shah and the Emperor of Delhi. An entry dated the 3rd March, 1780, states that Timur Shah's presents were received by the Emperor. (*Br. Mus.*, i, 40b.

Gyan Singh on pp. 908-9, states that on the boundary line bordering on the Sikh country Timur Shah built twenty forts such as Sultanpur, Kusakpadhri, Thil, Bagge Pind, and Makhyale.

The Central Museum at Lahore has coins of Timur Shah struck at Multan for the years 1780-6. and 1788-92. Cf. *Whitehead*, iii, 64, 88, 89, 90, 100, 101.

² *British Museum, Or.*, 25,021, ii, 11a.

³ *Ibid.*, 21a.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 24b.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 275b.

coming to India to punish Ghulam Ali Letti for his failure to pay the promised tribute of 15 lakhs.¹ The report of the 16th October, 1780 declared that Timur Shah was in Kabul till the 22nd September, 1780; that his agents had dispersed all over the country to recruit troops; and that letters had been written to Ghulam Ali Letti for the immediate remittance of the tribute.²

Timur Shah marched to India in the cold weather of 1780, and this time directed his attention chiefly against Bahawalpur. Rukan-ud-daulah Muhammad Bahawal Khan who was tributary to Ahmad Shah had stopped paying tribute to Timur Shah. The Durrani army under the charge of several notable chiefs reached Multan, while Timur Shah followed in the rear. Bahawal Khan on hearing the news of the Shah's approach loaded his family, treasures and provisions on camels and took refuge in a fort situated in the heart of the waterless desert. The Shah's troops invaded Bahawalpur, plundered the city and burnt houses. Shortly afterwards Timur Shah also reached this place. Timur Shah despatched Sardar Madad Khan with a strong contingent well supplied with food and water against the Nawab, and he made satisfactory arrangements to provide the general with a fresh supply of water from Bahawalpur. Madad Khan besieged the fort where Bahawal Khan had taken shelter and dug three wells which yielded sufficient quantity of water. The defenders put forth strong resistance, and successfully combated all the efforts of the besiegers to take it by assault. In the course of an action the magazine in the fort caught fire, and a large number of the garrison were killed. This disheartened Bahawal Khan who sued for peace by sending his son to wait upon the Shah at Bahawalpur. He paid the arrears of tribute, acknowledged Timur Shah his master, promised to remain faithful in future, and agreed to supply troops to his over-

¹ *Ibid.*, 295a.

² *Ibid.*, 301b.

lord in case of a fight between him and the Sikhs. The Shah accepted this submission and taking Bahawal Khan's son with him by way of surety for good behaviour retired to Peshawar on his way to Kabul.¹

The Sikhs were afraid lest Timur Shah might invade their territories after the Bahawalpur campaign. In order to ward off this danger they attacked Multan. A news-letter of the 5th November, 1780 states: "The Sikhs of Lahore, about 20,000 horse, attacked Timur Shah's military post near Multan. The Afghans asked for peace. The Sikhs realized *rākhi* and returned to their places. They are realizing *rākhi* in all directions."²

5. *Fourth Invasion, December, 1785*

Timur Shah was very anxious to reach Delhi to meet his kinsman, Shah Alam II. But the country of the Sikhs lay between. All alone he was incapable of defeating them. He therefore resolved to win over the most influential Indian Princes in order to overcome the opposition of the Sikhs. Early in 1783 letters from the Shah and his Wazir were received for the Peshwa.³ Later, on the 22nd November, 1783, it was recorded at the Emperor's Court that Sikandar Shah, brother of Timur Shah, had come to India and was waiting at Ghaziabad with Rustam Khan, brother of Shah Vali Khan, to interview the Emperor.⁴ Timur Shah's letter was received on the 19th February, 1784, by Warren Hastings, the Governor-General of India, in which the Shah asked him to "depute a confidant to the royal court to represent his wishes and sentiments," assuring him that "when his confidant arrives he will receive due attention."⁵

¹ *Husain Shahi*, 110-13; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 155-6; J.A.S.B., XVII, ii, 568-70.

² *British Museum Persian MS.*, Or, 25,021, folio 354b.

³ *Dilliyethil*, I, 95.

⁴ *British Museum Persian MS.*, Or, 25,021, f. 85a.

⁵ *C.P.C.*, vii, 343.

Timur Shah's plans, however, did not succeed as he could not secure any assistance from these chiefs. The only friend on whom he could count was Shah Alam II; but Timur Shah could not expect anything from the Emperor as he had no independent resources of his own.

Timur Shah invaded India in December, 1785, and encamped at Peshawar, on the 18th December. Prince Humayun, the son of Timur Shah, crossed the Indus at Attock at the head of 20,000 men and was joined by Faiz Talab Khan and Karim Beg the principal chiefs near Attock with 10,000 men.¹ His first object, however, was to recover Kashmir. On the death of Haji Karimdad Khan, the Governor of Kashmir in 1783, his youngest son Azad Khan, had expelled his two elder brothers, Murtaza Khan and Zaman Khan,² from the government of Kashmir. These two brothers had gone to Kabul and complained against Azad Khan.

Azad Khan was a capable young ruler. He displayed remarkable energy in establishing his authority in Kashmir. He won over his troops by making gifts of cash and cloth. He also took in his service three thousand Sikhs. His generosity attracted many daring young men who took service with him. Timur Shah was not prepared to undertake two expeditions at the same time. As the Sikhs were ready to oppose his advance into the Panjab, the Shah asked Prince

¹ Timur Shah's march as far as the river Indus alarmed even the British Government, and frightened the merchants and bankers of Delhi so much that they made preparations to leave the city. James Anderson, the Resident at Sindhia's court, however, thought that the Shah's advance upon Delhi was "extremely impossible". His opinion was based upon the fact that Timur Shah first must fight or make peace with the Sikhs who had established their power in the Panjab between the Jumna and the Indus. As the Shah was not prepared to fight the Sikhs, and the Sikhs would not make peace with him, such an event could not take place.

² Narayan Kaul on folio 196b calls them Pahalwan Khan and Maluk Khan. Cf. also Kirpa Ram's *Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, 239.

Humayun¹ to halt at Hasan Abdal for a while and not to move farther.² As the winter season had sufficiently advanced, and the passes leading into Kashmir were blocked by snow, thus preventing large scale operations, the Shah despatched Kifayat Khan to advise the young governor to submit. Finding Azad Khan resolute and firm in his determination, he accepted presents in cash and kind to the value of three lakhs and retired from Kashmir. Timur Shah thereupon sent a force of 30,000 under Murtaza Khan and Zaman Khan, the elder brothers of Azad Khan. They were accompanied by several notable chiefs such as Faiz Talab Khan Muhammadzai, Nawaz Jang Bangash Kohati, and Zardar Khan and Burhan Khan Durrani. The generals halted near the fort of Pakhli, built by Sa'adat Khan Swati, father-in-law of Azad Khan. Azad Khan lay encamped at this time at Muzaffarabad, four *kos* distant from Pakhli. The battle was fought on the banks of the river Kishanganga. Azad Khan's general Mulla Azam Khan lost his life, and 2,000 of his soldiers were either killed or drowned. Azad Khan was about to flee in a boat leaving the field to his brothers, when his cousin Pahalwan Khan checked him, and advised him to deliver the assault again. Pahalwan Khan reorganized the troops and renewed the fight. This time the imperial troops were defeated, and Burhan Khan Popalzai was taken prisoner. Azad Khan then victoriously marched to Srinagar. The Durrani troops rearranged themselves at Pakhli, and marched in pursuit of Azad Khan. Azad Khan on hearing this sallied from his capital and engaged the imperialists in

¹ A Marathi despatch of the 18th January, 1786, states that Mahan Singh, father of Ranjit Singh, waited on the Prince and asked him to place Kashmir under his control promising in return co-operation of the Sikhs for his advance upon Delhi. *Dilliyethi*, i, 158.

² A Persian news-letter of the Emperor's Court, dated the 11th May, 1786 at Kishanpur states:—

"Timur Shah is encamped at Peshawar. He intended to send Humayun Shah to Delhi, but has given up the idea on account of the opposition of the Sikhs who occupy the intervening road." *British Museum Persian Akhbarat*, Or, 25,021, folio 129b.

a deadly battle near Baramulla. The imperial army was again defeated, and Nawaz Jang Bangash with his younger son including several other chiefs of note fell into the hands of the victors as captives.

When the news of the defeat of Murtaza Khan and Zaman Khan at the hands of Azad Khan, and their return to Peshawar with Faiz Talab Khan, came to the notice of the Shah, he sent a larger force in the charge of Madad Khan Durrani and Payenda Khan. The new commanders entered Kashmir, fought a fierce battle with Azad Khan, at Khushipura, and after several engagements defeated him. Azad Khan took shelter in Punch; but he was imprisoned by the chief of the place, who communicated this news to Madad Khan. The Governor, however, shot himself dead. Azad Khan's mother and wife were sent to Timur Shah. The Shah spared the life of the mother on the payment of a ransom of two lakhs of rupees; while the Governor's wife was admitted to the royal harem. Azad Khan at the time of his death was only twenty-seven years old.¹

It appears that Warren Hastings before his leaving India had written a letter to Timur Shah Durrani who replied to it through his special messenger Shah Abdullah. The latter

¹ C.P.C., vii, 483(2), 508; *Imperial Records, Secret Proceedings*, 17th January, 1786, pp. 66-9, 73-6; *Secret Letters to Court*, 1786, vol. v, pp. 64-7; *General Letters from the Secret Committee to Fort William*, vol. i, 21st July, 1786, pp. 521-2; *General Letters to Secret Committee*, 1786, vol. v, pp. 47-8; *Husain Shahi*, 133-44; *Narayan Kaul*, 196b-199a; *Ala-ud-din*, 28-9; *Kirpa Ram's Gulzar-i-Kashmir*, 237-40; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 157-9; *H.P.* i, 117; *Dilliyethil*, i, 166, 207, 243, 254, 265.

A Marathi despatch of this time states that Raja Bijai Singh sent his agents to Timur Shah to direct his forces after the conquest of Kashmir to Delhi to defeat the Marathas. The Raja suggested that if the Sikhs would not allow him an easy passage through the Panjab, he should march across Multan, Bahawalpur and Bikaner, and that the Rajput Rajas would accompany him to Delhi. Timur Shah declined this offer on the ground that his presence was required in his own country. *Dilliyethil*, i, 266.

having died on the way Timur Shah's Wazir Abdul Latif addressed a letter to the Governor-General early in 1796, in which he stated that the Shah's letter would be delivered to him by Sayyid Ghulam Naqshband Khan. The Governor-General conveyed his compliments in a letter, dated 11th December, 1786.¹

Timur Shah returned to Kabul in May, 1786, on hearing the alarming news of the preparations of Murad Shah of Balkh to invade Afghanistan.²

6. *Fifth Campaign, December, 1788*

The Rajput princes had been constantly applying to Timur Shah for assistance against Mahadji Sindhia. On a persistent request from Maharaja Bakht Singh, Timur Shah sent his Bakhshi Madhu [Madad?] Khan in September, 1787 at the head of 15,000 horse, 5,000 foot and 1,700 camel riders. Their path was blocked at Attock by the Sikhs. The Bakhshi followed the course along the western bank of the Indus for some time, and finding the Sikhs ready to oppose him, he eventually gave up his advance and returned to Kabul.³ During the winter of 1788, rumours of a proposed invasion of Timur Shah were

¹ This letter ran as follows: "Acknowledges the receipt of his letter addressed to Mr. Hastings. Regrets that the reply has been delayed owing to the absence of Mr. Richard Johnson through whom the correspondence with the Shah was carried on. As Mr. Johnson has since returned the Governor-General takes the earliest opportunity of writing to him. Intimates that Mr. Hastings has left for Europe and that he (Mr. Macpherson) himself now holds office of the Governor-General, professes sincere friendship for the Shah. Says that the intervention of various independent governments between their countries prevent him from sending letters more frequently. Sends this letter through Ghulam Naqshband Khan and Ghulam Muhammad Khan, sons of the late Shah Abdullah Naqshbandi." *C.P.C.*, vii, 483(1), 677.

² *Dilliyethil*, i, 156, 208.

³ *Salur Jang Persian MS.*, No. 4,329, pp. 190-1.

again rife in India.¹ Raja Bijai Singh of Jodhpur was making frantic appeals to the Shah for his help against Sindhia. The Nawab of Bahawalpur had not paid tribute to the Durrani, and he appeared quite disaffected from the Shah. The annual subsidy from Sind had remained unpaid for several years past. Besides Timur Shah had learnt the sad news that his brother-in-law, Shah Alam II, had been deposed by Ghulam Qadir Rohilla on the 30th July, blinded on the 10th August, and numerous atrocities committed on the royal family during two months and a half's Rohilla rule over Delhi.

In consequence Timur Shah started on his Indian campaign in the beginning of winter of 1788. He marched from Peshawar on the 10th November, crossed the Indus at Attock on the 14th November and advanced towards Multan. His army at this time consisted of 120,000 cavalry. He wrote letters to Nawab Muzaffar Khan of Multan to collect grain, cloth and other necessary material for his forces. On the way he was joined by Ghazi-ud-din Imad-ul-Mulk, an ex-Wazir of Delhi, and the *Vakil* of the Raja of Jodhpur, both of whom requested the Shah to settle the affairs of Hindustan.²

Timur Shah made straight for Bahawalpur, avoiding any conflict with the Sikhs as far as possible. On the 13th December, 1788, he was 25 kos to the north-west of Multan. The Sikhs began to gather in that direction to arrest his progress; but on Timur's sending a strong detachment against them, they dispersed without coming to an action.

¹ William Palmer, the British Resident at Sindhia's Court, doubted the authenticity of these rumours: "Rumours of Timur Shah's intention to invade Indostan this season still prevail, but I cannot discover any good foundation for them, and by the concurring accounts which I heard from travellers the state of his government and finances do not admit his undertaking so distant and expensive an enterprise." *P.R.C.*, i, 236, dated Agra, 13th October, 1788.

² *Ibid.*, 238.

Timur's troops entered Bahawalpur by the end of December, and early in January, 1789, a fight took place between the Shah's army and the Doudpotra Chief of Bahawalpur, in which the latter was defeated and he took to flight towards Bikaner. Three detachments of the Shah marched on the city of Bahawalpur, and massacred the inhabitants. The Bahawalpur chief found safety in seeking for peace. He paid a tribute of ten lakhs and received a pardon.¹

The agents of the Raja of Jodhpur waited upon the Shah again, and offered twenty lakhs of rupees for liberating the Raja from the Maratha subjection. The Shah demanded forty lakhs of rupees, and also pointed out that his troops would suffer in the desert for want of water. The Raja promised to supply 3,000 camel loads of water bags.

On hearing this news Mahadji Sindhia wrote a threatening letter to the Raja of Jodhpur, saying that he might declare his independence of the Marathas with the help of the Shah; but on his retirement he would experience the serious consequences of his defiance.² Rai Dhanje, the Chief of Kach Bhuj [?] wrote to Sindhia that Timur's army would have to pass through his country to reach Jodhpur, and if Sindhia would help him, he could starve the Afghan soldiers by destroying all possible supplies of water on their way. This disquieting news exasperated Timur Shah, who at the persuasion of Sindhia's *Vakil* unceremoniously dismissed the *Vakil* of Jodhpur with the following reply: "You saw the fall of Shah Alam II, and you being a loyal subject remained a spectator only. It was Mahadji Sindhia alone

¹ *Husain Shahi*, 110-15.

² "How can you make a lasting peace by paying the Shah 40 lakhs of rupees and inviting his army into your country? Would that settlement last longer than the duration of the Shah's stay here? You have daily dealings with us; you will have to pay the tribute sooner or later, and we will realize it." *H. P.*, i, 181.

who punished Ghulam Qadir and restored the prestige of the royal house. Now you want me to attack the same person. This I can never do."¹

Thereafter Timur Shah directed his attention against Sind for the collection of arrears of tribute, and he succeeded in exacting about sixty lakhs of rupees.²

While in India Timur Shah wrote letters to all the noted chiefs of Northern India including the Governor-General.³

¹ *Ibid.*, 191.

² *P. R. C.*, i, 246. Timur Shah after he became king never penetrated into the Panjab as far as Lahore. But *Gyan Singh* on pp. 914-25, says that he did so, and describes several skirmishes between him and the Sikhs, in one of which he states that his general Ataullah Khan was killed fighting against Natha Singh near Sialkot.

³ Lord Cornwallis, the Governor-General, addressed the following letter to Timur Shah in reply:—

"Written 13th February, 1789.

"Your Majesty's *Shukka*, replete with expressions of favor and kindness to me, and desiring that as Your Majesty's illustrious House from the first period that the victorious banners were carried into the wide plains of Hindostan, and the city of Delhi submitted to the royal mandate and the deceased King Alumgeer experienced the royal clemency and was replaced on the throne of Hindostan, and after his death the same favour was shown to Shaw Allum, to whom Your Majesty also continued the same conduct had pursued the rules laid down among kings renowned for following the laws of justice and countenancing princes of high power and that Your Majesty had heard that Ghulam Qadir Yosufzai, the Rohillah, on the presumption of his power and regardless of the laws of gratitude had forgot the favor received by him and his ancestors from the royal family of Delhi and leaguering himself with thoughtless people had raised another to the throne of Hindostan and thrown disorder into the Sultanut and army—that as protection and aid to the king Shaw Allum is incumbent on Your Majesty's illustrious House, and I am one of the connections of it and the friend of His Majesty Shaw Allum, you are pleased to desire me to join other European Powers and should His Majesty Shaw Allum be still alive, replace him in the plenitude of his power, and if he should have departed this life, to establish his son on the throne of Hindostan, that as Your Majesty is bent on this object, I be not dilatory, but evince my zeal and gratitude by my exertions to obey

When Timur Shah was busy in negotiating with the Mirs of Sind he heard the distressing news that disturbances were created on the frontier of his country by Shah Murad of Turan, and the Shah therefore decided upon a retreat. The tidings of his return gave a sigh of relief to all the Indian princes.¹

Your Majesty's commands without delay, arrived and has conferred high honor on me. May it please Your Majesty the proofs of friendship which Your Majesty's illustrious ancestors evinced towards the King of Delhi are well-known to the world, and have reached the ears of the Princes and Powers in Europe.

"Now that Your Majesty is graciously pleased to show your royal pleasure for the happiness of Shaw Allum and to express such indignation at the rebellious conduct of the Rohillah and his ungrateful associates, the benevolence which is the characteristic of your illustrious family will be more published to the world, and call forth the prayers of mankind for the duration and prosperity of such virtues. May Providence for ever keep Your Majesty under the protection! How can I sufficiently express the pleasure I receive from the royal commands, and what greater happiness can I experience than while I represent the joy felt by everyone at the object Your Majesty is bent upon, having been accomplished by the zeal and exertions of the real well-wishers of Shaw Allum. God be praised that the wicked Rohillah has experienced the infamy and punishment due to his ungrateful conduct, that Shaw Allum is again replaced on the throne of his ancestors and the splendour of the Sultanut will shine in the plains of Hindostan as heretofore! Doubtless ere this Your Majesty will have heard these particulars, and under this idea, I refrain from recapitulating them, but expressing my respect of Your Majesty's royal commands and my attachment to the illustrious House of which Your Majesty now displays the inherited disposition for clemency and benevolence. I hope to be frequently honoured with the royal commands." *Imperial Records, Persian Correspondence, Letters Written, No. 42; Secret Proceedings, 20th February, 1789, pp. 545-9.*

¹ "The approach of Timur Shah Abdali kept the different powers of Hindostan in alarm for a long time with respect to his intentions, but it has now subsided on Timur's return with his army to his own capital." *Imperial Records, Secret Letters to Court, vol. vii, dated the 10th August, 1789, p. 692.*

Certain merchants of Delhi informed the British Resident at Lucknow that they had received intelligence from their correspondents at Multan that Timur Shah wanted to place his son Humayun on the throne of Delhi, and in this scheme he was supported by the Rajas of Jaipur and

7. *Intelligence of Timur Shah's Activities, 1789-92*

Timur Shah did not invade India again; but the political atmosphere in this country was never free from fear of a fresh campaign by him. The result was that the Indian chiefs kept themselves informed of his activities; while Timur Shah with a view to find a suitable opportunity for invading it employed agents to supply him the information of the political situation in India. This gave rise to many false alarms, and the Indian powers felt greatly perturbed; but ultimately their fears proved groundless. The suspicion in the Indian mind may be attributed to the Durrani tradition of incessant plundering raids, established by his father, the impetuous Ahmad Shah. No Indian of those days was prepared to believe that Timur Shah would break this time-honoured custom, particularly when they learnt of his activities in other parts of India. Below are given the extracts from intelligence of Timur Shah's activities:

19th March, 1789.—Timur Shah was about to invade India.¹

January, 1790.—A friendly letter from Timur Shah was received by Shah Alam II.²

April, 1790.—One of Timur Shah's officers named Qazi wrote secret letters against Timur Shah to Shah Murad of

Jodhpur. *Imperial Records, Secret Proceedings*, 28th January, 1789, p. 326. Edward Otto Ives's letter to the Governor-General, dated Lucknow, the 18th January, 1789.

For the account of this campaign *vide* Sardesai, No. 545 (Marathi); *H. P.* i, 180, 181, 188, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195 (Marathi); *Dilliyethil*, i, 341, 351, 390; ii, 23 (Marathi); *Imperial Records, Secret Proceedings*, 19th January, 1789, pp. 229-31; 284-5; of the 28th January, 1789, p. 326; of the 20th February, 1789, pp. 545-9.

¹ *Maheshwar Darbarachen Batamipatren* [Marathi], ii, 176.

² *Dilliyethil*, ii, Additional, 5.

Turan. These letters were intercepted and brought to the notice of the king who killed Qazi, imprisoned his relations, and confiscated his property.¹

May, 1790.—Nawab Ghazi-ud-din Khan, his son Jilani Khan and Prince Ahsan Bakht were on their way to Kabul via Kangra to seek the protection of Timur Shah.²

11th May, 1790.—Timur Shah's agent had not yet arrived at Delhi.³

July, 1790.—Mirza Ahsan Bakht had left Kangra for Afghanistan.⁴

6th August, 1790.—Timur Shah and Shah Murad of Turan were fighting.⁵

3rd September, 1790.—Timur Shah's *Vakil* had reached Lahore.⁶

26th September, 1790.—Ghazi-ud-din Khan was received with great honour by Shah Zaman.⁷

December, 1790.—Mahan Singh (father of Maharaja Ranjit Singh), a big Sikh Chief of the neighbourhood of Attock, had died, and Timur Shah therefore was contemplating an invasion of India.⁸

19th December, 1790.—Sadullah Khan, an ambassador of Timur Shah, visited Delhi and paid homage to the Emperor on the 19th December, 1790, offering five gold coins, and

¹ *H. P.*, i, 226.

² *Parasnis's Itihasa Sangraha*, "Maratha Affairs at Delhi," ii, 15; *Indian Historical Records Commission Proceedings*, vol. xiii, 1930, p. 92.

³ *Dilliyethil*, ii, 22.

⁴ *Ibid.*, ii, Additional, 29.

⁵ *Ibid.*, i, 393.

⁶ *Ibid.*, ii, Additional, 34.

⁷ *Parasnis's Itihasa Sangraha*, "Maratha Affairs at Delhi," ii, 34.

⁸ *Dilliyethil*, ii, 15.

delivered Timur Shah's letter to him. The Emperor conferred upon him a robe of honour consisting of three pieces, and granted shawls to his companions. Through the same agent Timur Shah sent a *kil'at* to Mahadji Sindhia for punishing Ghulam Qadir. Sindhia was at Sambhal. The Emperor sent the ambassador in the company of Tahmas Beg Miskin¹ to wait on Sindhia there. He reached Sindhia's camp on the 9th February, 1791. Sindhia honoured Sadullah Khan by bestowing upon him Rs. 12,000, some jewels, and a robe of honour of five pieces, and gave as presents for Timur Shah two elephants, horses, some jewels and five *khil'ats*, and his agent Wajih-ud-din Khan accompanied the ambassador. Sadullah Khan took leave of Sindhia on the 19th June, 1791. The Nawab Wazir of Oudh also sent two elephants and several other valuable gifts for Timur Shah. These agents took the route through Bahawalpur, Multan and Derajat.²

21st December, 1790.—Timur Shah defeated Shah Murad, and then peace was patched up between them. According to the terms of agreement Timu (?) river was fixed as the boundary line between their territories. Shah Murad left a *five hazari* chief with Timur Shah as a hostage. A rumour stated that Timur Shah would come to Peshawar.³

April, 1791.—Timur Shah was in Kabul. He had written letters to his chiefs to collect their forces as he intended to invade India.⁴

23rd April, 1791.—Timur Shah sent a letter to Cornwallis, the Governor-General, and gave an account of his activities on the northern frontier.⁵

¹ Sadullah Khan was given Rs. 600 and Tahmas Beg Miskin Rs. 100 for food, etc., while on journey to Sindhia's camp. *Dilliyethil*, ii, Additional, 21; *Delhi Chronicle*, 414.

² *H. P.*, i, 226; *Dilliyethil*, ii, 47, 59, 60; Additional, 2, 3, 5, 17 (Marathi).

³ *Dilliyethil*, ii, Additional, 3.

⁴ *Dilliyethil*, ii, 7.

⁵ *Imperial Records, Persian Letters Received*, No. 165.

May, 1791.—Mirza Ahsan Bakht had reached Kabul and would be received in audience by Timur Shah in a day or two.¹

11th May, 1791.—Timur Shah was marching from Kabul to Peshawar²

July, 1791.—Timur Shah's agent was in Delhi, and was about to leave for Afghanistan in a month's time.³

25th July, 1791.—Timur Shah was making great preparations to invade India.⁴

31st August, 1791.—Edward Otto Ives, the British Resident at Lucknow, wrote to Cornwallis that several persons charged with despatches from Timur Shah arrived there. One of them was Mir Nasir-ud-din, a relation of Ghulam Muhammad Khan. "It is very difficult to distinguish who, among these pretended *Vakeels*, are really sent. But I am fully of opinion that if the letters be authentic they are all obtained by private influence and for private purposes."⁵

September, 1791.—Raja Bijai Singh invited Timur Shah to India; but the Shah was busy in his own affairs as Murad Shah of Balkh was about to invade Afghanistan.⁶

11th September, 1791.—The Durrani chiefs were revolting against Timur Shah, and he therefore was trying to win over other tribes such as the Qizalbashes. He proposed to invade India in cold weather. His letters were received by the Nawab Wazir and Sindhia.⁷

28th September, 1791.—A strong rumour prevailed about Timur Shah's invasion of India.⁸

¹ *Ibid.*, Additional, 24.

² *Dilliyethil*, ii, 52.

³ *Dilliyethil*, ii, 5.

⁴ *Dilliyethil*, ii, 21.

⁵ *Imperial Records, Political Proceedings*, 8th February, 1792, No. 20.

⁶ *H. P.*, i, 302.

⁷ *Dilliyethil*, ii, 33, 70.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 9.

October, 1791.—Shah Murad's brother Adil Shah sought shelter with Timur Shah against his brother. Shah Murad desired his immediate return to Bokhara; but Timur Shah paid no heed to this request. Timur Shah sent orders to Shahdad Khan to build a bridge on the Indus, and he encamped opposite Attock with 8,000 troops. There was, however, no probability of his invading India as the Shah was facing disturbances in his own country. Mirza Ahsan Bakht was staying at Peshawar in Shah Wali Khan's mansion.¹

15th October, 1791.—Timur Shah was ready to invade India.²

24th October, 1791.—Subuktullah Khan arrived at Lucknow with letters from Timur Shah and his Wazir Faizullah Khan for the Nawab Wazir of Oudh and the British Resident at his court. He reported that Mirza Ahsan Bakht was granted an interview by Timur Shah at Charbagh, and the Shah promised to accompany him with an army in the following year. The Prince had fallen ill, and in order to avoid the inclemency of winter at Kabul returned to Peshawar.³

4th November, 1791.—Timur Shah was expected at Peshawar after 'Id.⁴

29th November, 1791.—Timur Shah was at Kabul and had summoned Ahsan Bakht there.⁵

27th January, 1792.—Jamil, an agent of Mirza Ahsan Bakht, arrived at Delhi. He was presented to the Emperor

¹ *Ibid.*, 65.

² *Ibid.*, 35.

³ *Imperial Records, Political Proceedings*, 8th February, 1792, Resident at Lucknow to the Governor-General, dated Lucknow, 27th January, 1792, No. 20.

⁴ *Dilliyethil*, ii, 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 42.

by Shah Nizam-ud-din. He told His Majesty that Prince Ahsan Bakht was well received by Timur Shah, and Yusuf Ali eunuch was negotiating for him.¹

11th February, 1792.—It was reported that Timur Shah's troops on the Indus had beaten the Sikhs, and that at Mirza Ahsan Bakht's intercession Timur Shah had granted pardon to Ghazi-ud-din Khan for having murdered Alamgir II.²

19th February, 1792.—From the perusal of letters received from Amritsar it was generally believed that Timur Shah had stationed 10,000 cavalry with Ahsan Bakht, and assigned to him Rohtas and certain other places, and issued orders to his chiefs on this side of the Indus to join the prince.³

22nd February, 1792.—Ghazi-ud-din's letter from Bahawalpur was received at Delhi by Shah Nizam-ud-din stating that he was summoned by Timur Shah.⁴

23rd February, 1792.—Mirza Ahsan Bakht's letter from Peshawar announced that Timur Shah was about to proceed to India.⁵

25th February, 1792.—Prince Ahsan Bakht and Nawab Ghazi-ud-din proposed leading an expedition into the Sikh country; but Ranjit Singh was prepared to oppose their advance.⁶

1st March, 1792.—Sadullah Khan and Wajih-ud-din Khan waited at Peshawar on Mirza Ahsan Bakht who granted each of them a *khil'at* of three pieces.⁷

¹ *Imperial Records, Political Proceedings*, 23rd March, 1792; Letter from the Resident at the Wazir's Court to Cornwallis, dated Lucknow, 12th March, 1792, No. 4.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

⁶ *Dilliyethil*, ii, Additional, 70; *Itihas Sangraha Supplement*, 70.

⁷ *Dilliyethil*, ii, 71.

March, 1792.—Sadullah Khan and Wajih-ud-din Khan left Peshawar for Kabul. Shah Murad was creating disorder in Timur's country, and the latter had asked the ruler of Badakhshan to help him.¹

21st March, 1792.—Mahadji Sindhia was sending Rs. 50,000 to his agent Wajih-ud-din Khan in Kabul by a *hundi* to buy horses. Nawab Nizam Ali Khan was considering to despatch Tahmas Beg Khan to Kabul to procure for him a robe of honour from Timur.²

12th May, 1792.—Some letters of Mirza Ahsan Bakht were intercepted by Timur's men, and Timur Shah on learning their subject-matter of intrigue was angry with the Prince. He therefore sent secret instructions to the Governor of Multan to keep Ahsan Bakht under surveillance.³

September, 1792.—Timur Shah was soon expected at Attock.⁴

11th September, 1792.—Timur Shah's letters arrived for the Emperor, Nawab Wazir of Oudh, British Resident at Lucknow, Begam Samru, Zafaryab Khan and Muhammad Sadiq Khan.⁵

12th September, 1792.—Shah Nizam-ud-din declared that all rumours about Timur's Indian invasion were false.⁶

14th November, 1792.—The Governor-General sent presents to Timur Shah in return for those received from

¹ *Ibid.*, 73.

² *Dalliyethil*, ii, Additional, 67.

³ *Dalliyethil*, ii, 93; Additional, 79.

⁴ *H. P.*, i, 382.

⁵ *Imperial Records, Political Proceedings*, 3rd October, 1792, No. 21.

⁶ *Ibid.*

Kabul. The Governor-General instructed his agent, in charge of the presents, to procure "general information relative to Timur Shaw's Government and politics."¹

¹ *Imperial Records, Foreign Miscellaneous*, No. 46. G. F. Cherry wrote to Edward Otto Ives, Resident at Lucknow on the 14th November, 1792 from Calcutta:—

"The Governor-General having been pleased to send presents to Timur Shaw under charge of Golaum Mahomed Khan, the *Vakil* from Timur Shaw at this *Durbar*, in return for presents received some time ago, I am directed to inform you that Golaum Mahomed Khan will leave this (place) in a day or two with the several articles on board a boat and will go to Kaunpoor.

"As his lordship wishes that every assistance should be furnished to Golaum Mahomed Khan in order that the presents may be conveyed with as much despatch and safety as possible, he has desired me to consign the presents to your care, and to request that you will endeavour to procure a trustworthy man of respect and abilities to accompany Golaum Mahomed Khan to Kabul. His Lordship's wish in this respect is to avail himself of the opportunity now offered to procure general information relative to Timur Shaw's Government and politics, as far as may be practicable, without injury to the delicacy of his Court, and without the appearance of a specific deputation for this purpose. It may also be practicable to ascertain further particulars of the countries that lay on the road to whom they are subject, and, as far as can be, the disposition of their rulers. These general points will, his Lordship trusts, be sufficient to notify to you his object in sending a person in company with Golaum Mahomed Khan, and he leaves the choice of the person and any further instructions to you, wishing at the same time that the letters and presents may be left entirely to Golaum Mahomed Khan, in order that the company of any other person with him may not be construed into a deputation from this Government, which during the present rumours relative to Timur Shaw's motions might occasion reports and surmises wholly improper.

"A list of the presents is enclosed. They are packed up as suitable hand carriage as the nature of them will allow, and his Lordship desires that you will, under the pretence of the person who will go from you to assist in their safe conveyance, give every aid in your power."

8. *Death of Timur Shah, 18th May, 1793*

About the end of 1792 Timur Shah made up his mind to invade India once again. He made suitable arrangements for his various provinces in Afghanistan to avoid any disturbance to distract his attention from the settlement of Indian affairs. Prince Mahmud was left in charge of Herat. Humayun in Kandahar and Zaman in Kabul. He advanced as far as Peshawar, and punished several rebellious chiefs in the Khyber Pass and the hills. He summoned Fatah Khan Yusafzai, the Governor of Muzaffarabad, to him and put him to death for his refractory behaviour. Soon afterwards he was taken ill with inflammation of intestines accompanied by violent fits of vomiting. The physicians treated him well; but they could not cure him of the disease. Consequently, they suggested change of climate, and recommended him to repair to Kabul immediately. Timur Shah realized that his end had come, and wished to die in his favourite capital, a place which he liked best in his empire, and, in spite of the discomfort and inconvenience the journey involved, he returned to Kabul, where, after a couple of days of his arrival he passed away on the 18th May, 1793.¹

Timur Shah was buried at Kabul, and a beautiful mausoleum was built over his grave. Sir Vincent Eyre found in 1842 only two places worth seeing at Kabul, one of them being Timur Shah's mausoleum: "The city is very irregularly laid out, and, with exception of the celebrated covered bazar and the tomb of Timur Shah, contained no public buildings at all striking."²

¹ *Husain Shahi*, 151; *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 159-61. The news of his death reached Delhi on the 15th June, 1793. *Delhi Chronicle*, 423. Ferrier believes that "he was poisoned by one of the women of his harem, the sister of a Popalzeye Chief, who was hostile to him." *History of the Afghans*, 104.

² *Eyre*, 28. The bazaar was destroyed by General Pollock in October, 1842.

9. *Character*

Timur Shah is declared by all writers indolent and pleasure-loving. Elphinstone says: "Timoor Shaub having now obtained undisturbed possession of his father's kingdom, gave way to his natural indolence. His whole policy was directed to secure his tranquillity: he never appears to have thought of aggrandizing himself, and all the operations in which he was afterwards engaged, were intended merely for the defence of his dominions."¹ Masson has nothing but a harsh verdict for him: "To Ahmed Shah succeeded his son, Taimur Shah, who, as is too often the case in these countries, lived on the reputation of his father and passed his reign in pleasure, or the gratification of his sensual appetites."²

Aggrandizement is no virtue, and if Timur Shah, led by his peaceful temperament, did not indulge in this unfair pursuit, he should not be condemned simply for not possessing a passion for war. Timur did not follow in the footsteps of his father to carry on ruthless campaigns over a vast territory for various reasons. He did not possess equal enthusiasm for warlike activities, and whatever ambition he had for foreign hostilities it was damped by the unfavourable circumstances in which he was placed. A French officer who toured in Afghanistan some time after Timur's death says: "The serdars who had placed his father on the throne, and divided with him the direction of affairs, considered themselves much more like the tutors of his son than his councillors. The king endeavoured for a long period to release himself from this thralldom, but, seeing that his efforts were vain, he gave himself up to that life of ease and effeminacy with which European authors have so sharply reproached him, without reflecting whether it

¹ *Caubul*, 559.

² *Journeys*, ii, 99.

was possible for him to follow a different line of conduct... I had occasion, during my journey in Afghanistan, to converse with some respectable serdars, who, having held high positions at the court of this sovereign, were able to appreciate his character. These individuals assured me that the intelligence and activity of this prince were equal to his courage and firmness; and it was these qualities which had led his father to give him the preference over his other sons: but it would have been absolute folly for him to have entered into an open struggle with the old serdars, who were venerated by the Afghans, with a view of concentrating all the power within his own hands, for this contest could terminate only to his disadvantage, and would have ended in his complete ruin."¹

Thus Timur Shah followed the only wise course of not interfering with the nobles, and this admirable policy allowed him a peaceful reign of twenty-one years. He devoted his energy and power to internal administration, and succeeded in maintaining the integrity of his vast dominions in spite of numerous difficulties. "Timur Shah governed his rude country internally as few men have governed it."² Timur Shah was loved by his people as he gave them peace and treated them liberally and kindly. G. T. Vigne marked the regard and esteem the Afghans cherished for him even after the expiry of nearly fifty years:—

"The reign of Timur Shah was still remembered by the older inhabitants of Kabul, as that in which the city enjoyed its greatest modern prosperity. He was a liberally-minded ruler, and was known to lend a man money, and tell him to go and trade with it."³

¹ Ferrier, 104-5.

² Malleson's *History of Afghanistan*, 295.

³ *A Personal narrative of a visit to Ghuzni, Kabul and Afghanistan*, p. 376.

{ With regard to India, it may be pointed out that Timur Shah directed his attention towards Peshawar, Kashmir, Multan, Sind and Bahawalpur. It may, however, be mentioned that these regions were overwhelmingly Muslim in population, and consequently, Timur Shah was sure of not meeting with the Sikh aggression there. The Sikhs, whom he had known from his childhood, were avoided by him as far as possible, and he never summoned up courage to attack them in the heart of their country. The recovery of Multan from the Sikhs is undoubtedly a remarkable achievement made by him. In three of his Indian provinces—Kashmir, Bahawalpur and Sind—his power was prejudicially affected by his peaceful tendency, as the Governors of these outlying territories no longer feeling the heel of the invader threw off allegiance to Timur Shah. They submitted whenever Timur invaded their country and assumed an independent attitude after his retirement to Afghanistan.

CHAPTER VIII

THE DURRANI EMPIRE AT SHAH ZAMAN'S ACCESSION, 1793

1. Source

In the early nineties of the 18th century there were wide rumours of a foreign invasion from the north-west. The British Government in India had their territories almost beyond the reach of the invader; but they were anxious to defend the country of their ally the Nawab Wazir of Oudh, which in those days served as a buffer state. This could be effectively done by possessing the exact knowledge of the actual resources and strength of the king of Afghanistan. Consequently Edward Otto Ives, the British Resident at Lucknow, under orders of Marquis Cornwallis, sent a man called Ghulam Sarwar to Afghanistan to procure as authentic an information as he possibly could.

Ghulam Sarwar left Lucknow on the 10th March, 1793, and after the lapse of nearly two years came back on the 12th February, 1795. He spent Rs. 3,305 in securing intelligence, and the British Government paid him Rs. 14,500 in all.

Sir John Shore, the Governor-General, while presenting his minute dated the 5th July, 1797, to his Council, spoke of Ghulam Sarwar's account in these words:—"It contains the best procurable account of the dominions, forces, revenues and character of Shah Zaman who, since his

expedition to Lahore, has become a more interesting object of political attention."

The original papers of Ghulam Sarwar which were compiled in Persian could not be traced in Imperial Record Department, with the exception of an application from him claiming money from the Government; but an English translation full of mis-spelt names of persons and places is available there. This lengthy document covers about 100 closely-written pages. I have condensed and arranged this matter in a logical order, and made an attempt to correct various wrongly-spelt names. This account pertains to the Hijri year 1207 to 1208, commencing from August 19, 1792 to August 8, 1793.

2. *Shah Zaman Succeeds, May, 1793*

Timur Shah, at the time of his death, on the 18th of May, 1793, nominated Prince Zaman "who was beloved by the people and the nobility" his successor.² He left behind him twenty-nine sons and nineteen daughters.³ Several princes held the charge of various provinces. The eldest son, Humayun,⁴ "cruel but generous", was at Kandahar. The second son, Mahmud, a wise prince, was the lord of Herat, while his brother Firoz-ud-din, noted for bravery, was with him. Abbas, the chief of Peshawar, brave and generous, "renowned for Herculean strength" was the popular

¹ Cf. *Imperial Records, Secret Department*, 7th July, 1797, Nos. 1-8.

² *Dilhathil*, ii, 94.

³ Malleon in his *History of Afghanistan*, p. 300, and Ferrier in his *History of the Afghans*, p. 106, state that Timur Shah left twenty-three sons and thirteen daughters. *Jamal-ud-din*, pp. 60-61, puts the number of his sons at 32, and of his wives at 300. Cf. also *Abdul Majid*, 130.

⁴ His mother belonged to the Sadozai tribe.

⁵ The mother of Mahmud and Firoz-ud-din was of the Isakzai tribe.

favourite".¹ Zaman, who was intelligent, foresighted, cautious, economical and patient of labour; but pleasure-loving, avaricious and haughty, was at Kabul. His real brother, Shuja-ul-Mulk, was at Ghazni.² Kohandil was the Governor of Kashmir.

Humayun and Mahmud were on the best of terms with each other, and Mahmud promised to support Humayun. They remained at their respective governments, while all other princes hurried to Kabul. Zaman, however, with the powerful influence of the imperial harem, and the strong support of the great Barakzai chief, Payendah Khan, was raised to the sovereign power. Shah Zaman by imprisoning all his brothers present in Kabul, secured their submission. He then marched to Kandahar and defeated Humayun at Kalat-i-Ghilzai, and the Prince sought refuge in flight to Baluchistan. Shah Zaman appointed Shuja-ul-Mulk to the governorship of Kandahar, came to terms with Mahmud, and returned to Kabul. He thus succeeded for a time in effectually establishing his authority as ruler. Shah Zaman is well-known in Indian History for being the last invader from the north-west. He was about twenty-three years old at this time.³

At the time of his accession the kingdom of Afghanistan extended in the east from Bahawalpur on the Sutlej to Khorasan, Iran and Kerman in the west; and in the north from Akcha on the Oxus to the sea of Oman in the south. It comprised of a space about 1,600 miles in length between Kashmir and Herat, and 1,000 miles in breadth between Bahawalpur and Akcha. This vast territory comprehended the principalities of Bahawalpur, Sind, Multan, the Derajat,

¹ *Malleon*, 300.

² The mother of Zaman and Shuja-ul-Mulk was of the Yusufzai tribe.

³ *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 162; *Sinha's Rise of the Sikh Power*, 119.

Kashmir, Peshawar, Kabul, Ghazni, Kandahar, Baluchistan, Herat, Persian Khorasan and Balkh.

3. Revenues

The total sum of revenue in 1793 amounted to Rs. 2,71,78,400, according to the following specification:—

	Rs.
Remitted to the royal treasury	67,25,000
<i>Jagirs</i>	47,64,400
Expenses of establishment	38,21,000
Charity	5,06,000
Appropriations in lands paying quit rents [?]	1,13,62,000
	<hr/>
	2,71,78,400

Of Rs. 67,25,000 remitted to the royal treasury Rs. 46,15,000 were appropriated to the fixed expenses of Shah Zaman in accordance with the following schedule:—

	Rs.
Privy purse	12,00,000
Artillery expenses	2,70,000
Troops of slaves <i>khas</i>	11,90,000
Stable expenditure	1,50,000
Elephants	50,000
Mules	80,000
Camels' expenditure	1,10,000
<i>Tosha Khana</i>	3,20,000
<i>Harem Khana</i>	5,60,000
<i>Farash Khana</i>	70,000
Royal Kitchen	2,20,000
Grant for Akcha	70,000
Grant for Balkh	1,15,000
Royal buildings	2,10,000
	<hr/>
	46,15,000
Balance	21,10,000
	<hr/>
	67,25,000

4. *Army*

As regards Shah Zaman's forces the particulars are as follows:—

Standing army :

<i>Risala</i> Itifat Khan <i>Khawajah Sara</i> ...	...	4,900
<i>Risala</i> Haji Amir Khan ...	...	2,400
<i>Risala</i> Amin-ul-Mulk Nur Muhammad Khan...		5,900
<i>Risala</i> Arsalan Jawan Sher ...	...	3,700
<i>Risala</i> Jafar Khan ...	...	1,800
<i>Risala</i> of nephew of Sadiq Khan ...	...	1,600
<i>Risala</i> Yusaf Ali Khan <i>Khawajah Sara</i> ...	...	3,000
		<hr/> 23,300
Slaves <i>Khas</i> ...	...	9,780
Troops detached throughout the country ...	...	35,750
		<hr/> 68,830
Large pieces of cannon ...	...	644
Camel artillery fit for service ...	...	2,600
Camel artillery unfit for service ...	...	3,270
		<hr/>

There were 195 forts, besides innumerable petty fortified places.

5. *Courtiers*

Of the numerous big courtiers Imam-ul-Mulk Ghazi Faizullah Khan was Sadar-i-Sadur of the Kingdom. Rahmatullah Khan held the title of Wafadar Khan and the office of Sadar-i-Sadur. Amin-ul-Mulk Nur Muhammad Khan Babri was the Superintendent of the Treasury, *Tosha Khana*, *Jawahar Khana*, and also had the charge of inspecting the papers of the *subahdars*, farmers of revenue and *'amils*. Mukhtar-ud-daulah Sher Muhammad Khan, son of Shah Wali Khan, was Wazir. Sardar-i-Sardaran Payendah Khan who had the title of Sarfraz Khan was Amir-ul-Umara. Sheikh Yusaf was *Vakil* of

the ryot and Mustafi-ul-Mumalik. Mirza Ali Khan held the title of Khanazad Khan Bahadur. Shakur Khan was Vakil-i-Mumalik. Kallu Khan had the title of Vakil-ud-daulah. Karim Khan, son of Sardar Jahan Khan, held the rank of Sardar, and was *Darogha* of the Stable. Ahmad Khan was Shahanchi Bashi, Mulla Yaqub Khan Topchi Bashi, Daud Khan Amlah Bashi, Yar Muhammad Khan Nasaqchi Bashi and Azim Khan Farrash Bashi. Yusaf Ali Khan Khwajah Sara was commander of the contingent of the Slaves Khas. Rahimdad Khan was *Darogha* of the Daftar.

6. *Foreign Relations*

The political situation of Shah Zaman should be determined relatively to the King of Turan, King of Iran, Prince Mahmud of Herat and the Sikhs in the Panjab.

Abdul Ghani Khan was the nominal king of Turan with his capital at Bokhara. He was blinded by his Wazir, Shah Murad, in whose hands lay the real authority. Hostilities had broken out between Shah Murad and Timur Shah, a little before the latter's death chiefly regarding the claims of the two kings to Balkh and Akcha (50 miles north of Balkh). Ultimately peace was patched up, and these places were retained by Timur Shah. Shah Zaman was, however, under constant alarm respecting the attempt of Shah Murad.

Agha Muhammad Khan Kajjer was the virtual ruler of Iran, and his ambition and power were a permanent cause of apprehension to Shah Zaman.

Prince Mahmud, the Regent of Herat, was in secret correspondence with Shah Murad and Agha Muhammad Khan Kajjer with a view to 'secure the throne of Afghanistan. He possessed no resources to contest with his brother, but nevertheless he was a source of anxiety to the Shah.

The Panjab, the richest part of the Durrani Kingdom, was in possession of the Sikhs, a warlike and numerous people. Though divided by internecine dissensions, they were not prepared either to relinquish their hold on the province or to allow the Shah to pass through their country to Delhi unmolested. The Sikhs were therefore an ever-pinching thorn in the side of Shah Zaman.

7. Provinces

Shah Zaman's kingdom consisted of the following provinces:—

1. *Bahawalpur*.—Bahawal Khan, son of Fatah Khan, was the ruler. In his relations with Shah Zaman he was "apparently well-affected, but in his heart most rebellious." He had an army of 3,000 horse and 5,000 foot, but could further collect 17,000 horse and foot in an emergency. There were 19 forts in the province. The fort of Derawal commonly called Dilawar Kot stood in a sandy desert, where no water was available within a radius of about 50 miles. The fort contained two wells of good water, and close to its walls there was a large tank which had water throughout the year. The fort of Khanpur was also situated in a waterless tract. The well-water in this fort was so saltish that it was unfit for human consumption, and could be used only by sheep, goats and camels. Rukanpur had a masonry fort. The forts of Ahmadpur,¹ Dingarh, Khairpur, Garhi Ikhtiar Khan, Maujgarh, and Kot Lashkar Khan had no artillery. The total income of the province in 1793 was Rs. 11,07,000,² and expenditure as

¹ This place was the principal residence of the Khan. Cf. Masson's *Narrative of Various Journeys*, i, 22.

² Shahamat Ali estimates the gross income of the Khan about 1830 at 14 lakhs, and net saving at 5 lakhs. Cf. *Bahawalpur*, xi.

given below :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	1,00,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	1,40,000
Charity	...	...	60,000
Bahawal Khan's expenses	...	...	8,07,000
			<hr/> 11,07,000

2. *Sind*.—At this time Sind was divided into several parts. Bukkur and Sukkur were under Shah Zaman's officers stationed there at the head of 1,700 horse with 143 pieces of cannon. This district transmitted to the royal treasury Rs. 65,000.

Hyderabad was under Mir Fatah Ali and Mir Sohrab etc., the Talpuria Chiefs, who had thrown off allegiance to the Shah. Their income was Rs. 51,13,000 and the expenditure :—

			Rs.
Expected to pay to the royal treasury	...	...	10,00,000
Officers and relations	...	...	11,00,000
Privy purse of the rulers	...	...	28,13,000
Charity	...	...	2,00,000
			<hr/> 51,13,000

The revenues of Shikarpur amounted to Rs. 5,93,000 as detailed here :—

			Rs.
Expected to pay to the royal treasury	...	...	3,91,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	1,45,000
Administrative expenses	...	...	52,000
Charity	...	...	5,000
			<hr/> 5,93,000

Amarkot was at that time under the Raja of Jodhpur, and the total income of this district was Rs. 23,000.

Karachi was under Nasir Khan Baluch of Kalat and its revenues amounted to Rs. 6,16,000.

The Talpuria chiefs entertained a force of 11,000 horse and 19,000 foot. There were 23 forts in all. Hyderabad had a masonry fort built on a hill. Bukkur, a strong fort, stood on an island in the middle of the river Indus. The other important forts were Rohri, Sukkur, Amarkot, Shikarpur, Khudabad, Fatah Yehsan Kot and Karachi. Sind was a "flourishing, well-watered and well inhabited" country. Its fertility depended not on rains but on its rivers and canals, and in consequence it yielded a large revenue.

3. *Multan*.—Muzaffar Khan, son of Shuja Khan, was the chief. He was a "capable man but haughty" and "not well affected" towards the Shah. He commanded 1,500 horse, and could muster 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot more. There were 11 strong forts such as Multan, Shujakot, Sikandarabad, Muzaffarabad and Talamba. They contained many pieces of artillery. There were many *garhis* besides. The total income was Rs. 6,73,400. The expenditure is given below :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	2,55,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	3,23,400
Expenses of establishment	...	...	45,000
Charity	...	...	50,000
			<hr/> 6,73,400 <hr/>

4. *Derah Ghazi Khan*.—A son of Payendah Khan was the sardar of the place. He had 2,300 horse, and could collect 3,000 horse and 8,000 foot more. There were fourteen forts such as Derah Ghazi Khan, Taunsa (4 miles west of the Indus), Mangrotha (4 miles west of Taunsa), and Tarund (on the western bank of the Indus), besides innumerable small forts (*kotlahs*). The total income of the district was Rs. 10,97,000, and the expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	6,70,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	3,20,000
Expenses of establishment	...	...	62,000
Charity	...	...	45,000
			<hr/> 10,97,000 <hr/>

5. *Leiah*.—Muin-ul-Mulk Ghulam Nabi Leti, nephew of Khudadad Khan Leti, was formerly ruler of Sind; but he was expelled by the Talpuria chiefs, Mir Fatah Ali and Mir Sohrab etc. He was sixty years of age and "imbecile". He was not truly loyal to the Shah. He commanded a contingent of 600 horse, but could collect 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry. His total income was Rs. 3,47,000, and expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	1,50,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	89,000
Expenses of establishment	...	...	1,02,000
Charity	...	...	6,000
			<hr/> 3,47,000 <hr/>

6. *Derah Ismail Khan*.—Nusrat Khan was stationed here with a body of 700 horse. "He is most oppressive, but has not the ability to rebel." He could collect about 3,000 horse and foot. There were six forts in all, and many *kotlahs*. The fort of Derah Ismail Khan had masonry fortifications, but it was breached and out of repair. Tirgarh (4 miles west of the Indus) and Naushahra (in the middle of the Indus) were other important forts. The total income mounted to Rs. 2,99,000, and expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	1,20,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	1,54,000
Expenses of establishment	...	...	15,000
Charity	...	...	10,000
			<hr/> 2,99,000 <hr/>

7. *Bangash Ghat*.—Nawab Khan Bangash was the chief. "He has no thought of disobedience". He commanded 500 horse, but could collect 1,000 cavalry and 2,000 infantry. There were three middling forts and several *kotlahs*. The annual income was Rs. 1,00,000.

8. *Attock*.—Shahbaz Khan Khatak at the head of 3,000 horse and nine pieces of cannon ruled over the place. There were six forts and several fortalices. The fortress of Attock was the strongest. The yearly income amounted to Rs. 1,10,000.

9. *Kashmir*.—Ahmad Khan Shahanchi Bashi was the Governor. He had a force of 5,000 horse and seven pieces of cannon. Lately, an extra detachment of 11,000 horse and 416 pieces of camel artillery on the part of the King had been stationed there. There were twenty-one strong forts and numerous *kotlahs* in the hills. The total income was Rs. 40,18,000 and expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	22,50,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	6,28,000
Expenses of establishment	...	...	11,40,000
			<hr/> 40,18,000 <hr/>

10. *Chach Hazara*.—This district was administered by the *'amils* of Ahmad Khan Shahanchi Bashi. They had a body of 4,000 horse, but could collect 1,000 horse and 2,000 foot in addition. There were four middling forts and several fortalices. The total income was Rs. 2,30,000.

11. *Peshawar*.—Haji Rahmatullah was the head of the district. He commanded a contingent of 3,000 horse with nine pieces of cannon. He could collect 4,000 horse and 11,000 foot. In addition to the masonry fort of Peshawar, there were many small forts. The total annual revenues amounted to Rs. 11,91,000, and expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	2,95,000
Expenses of establishment and charity	...	...	8,96,000
			<hr/> 11,91,000 <hr/>

12. *Jalalabad*.—Ghani Khan was stationed here with 1,000 horse as an administrator. He could gather 2,000 horse and 4,000 foot more. There were three middling forts and many fortalices. The annual income amounted to Rs. 2,00,000.

13. *Kabul*.—It was under the direct administration of the King. In addition to 7,000 horse there were many contingents of slaves with 107 pieces of cannon. There was the strong fortress of the Bala Hissar, and many other forts and fortalices. The total income was Rs. 9,95,000, and expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the royal treasury	...	...	2,65,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	2,55,000
Expenses of establishment and charity	...	...	4,75,000
			<hr/> 9,95,000 <hr/>

14. *Ghazni*.—It was ruled over by the officers of Payendah Khan, who commanded 300 horse. The fortress of Ghazni was breached and out of repair. There were many forts besides. The annual income was Rs. 1,10,000 out of which Rs. 50,000 were paid into the King's treasury.

15. *Ghorband*.—It was administered by the *'amils* of Payendah Khan at the head of 300 horse. This place had a masonry fort, besides many other forts. The total revenues amounted to Rs. 90,000, out of which Rs. 40,000 were paid into the treasury.

16. *Ghori*.—It was also under the administration of Payendah Khan's men, stationed with 300 horse. There were several forts and fortalices. Ghori paid no money in cash to the treasury, but presented to the King 250 horses and 9,000 sheep each year.

17. *Kalat-i-Ghilzai*.—It was in the direct possession of the King. There was a very strong hill fortress. It submitted to the treasury a sum of Rs. 1,02,000.

18. *Kandahar*.—Prince Shuja-ul-Mulk was the Governor. He had a force of 4,000 horse with 342 pieces of cannon. There was a strong masonry fort, besides 13 others. The total income was Rs. 9,61,000, and expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	2,10,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	4,20,000
Expenses of establishment	...	...	2,81,000
Charity	...	...	50,000
			<hr/>
			9,61,000
			<hr/>

19. *Kalat*.—Nasir Khan Baluch was the head. He commanded a force of 33,000 cavalry. He was expected to attend the Shah in time of war, but paid no tribute. He was not obedient to Shah Zaman. The hill fortress of Kalat with seven towers was exceedingly strong. There were seventeen other forts and many fortalices. The yearly income amounted to Rs. 34,00,000.

20. *Farah*.—Rahmatullah Khan was the chief of the place. He commanded 250 horse. He paid into the treasury Rs. 65,000.

21. *Herat*.—Princes Mahmud and Firoz-ud-din, sons of Timur Shah, were the rulers. They commanded a force of 15,000 horse with twelve pieces of cannon. They were disaffected to Shah Zaman. Herat had a strong masonry fort, nine other forts and many fortalices. The total income was Rs. 11,81,000, and expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the King's treasury	...	...	4,21,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	4,50,000
Expenses of establishment	...	...	2,40,000
Charity	...	...	70,000
			<hr/>
			11,81,000
			<hr/>

22. *Nahbalook*.—Mir Ali Khan was the chief. He commanded a force of 35,000 cavalry. He possessed twenty-four forts including Toon and Tibs. The country of Nahbalook was adjacent to Herat. Mir Ali Khan resided at Tibs. He was disaffected to the Shah, but paid tribute in the form of products of his country such as tobacco, saffron, Persian carpets and horses to the yearly value of one lakh of rupees. The coin was struck and prayers were read in Shah Zaman's name. His revenues amounted to Rs. 39,00,000.

23. *Charikar and Panjshir*.—The annual income was Rs. 2,10,000, and expenditure :—

			Rs.
Paid to the royal treasury	...	...	1,00,000
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	65,000
Expenses of establishment		...	35,000
Charity	...	...	10,000
			<hr/> 2,10,000 <hr/>

24. *Maimana*.—Jahan Khan was the chief. His annual income amounted to Rs. 1,00,000. He sent to the Shah 200 horses and 11,000 sheep each year as a tribute.

25. *Balkh*.—Hakumat Khan Durrani was the chief who commanded a body of 3,900 horse with eleven pieces of cannon. There were four forts and many *kotlahs*. The revenues were Rs. 4,00,000, which were supplemented by a special grant from Kabul amounting to Rs. 1,15,000. The expenditure was as follows :—

			Rs.
<i>Talukdars</i>	...	...	1,50,000
Troops	...	...	3,20,000
Charity	...	...	45,000
			<hr/> 5,15,000 <hr/>

26. *Akcha*.—Hakumat Khan Durrani was the head of the district. The annual collections were Rs. 1,80,000, and

Rs. 70,000 were sent from Kabul. The total expenses amounted to Rs. 2,50,000. A tribute of 1,700 horses and 22,000 sheep was submitted to the Shah by Hakumat Khan for Balkh and Akcha. There were four pieces of cannon in the fort of Akcha.

27. *Khulam and Andkhui*.—These places were under Alivardi Khan. The annual expenditure amounted to Rs. 1,30,000. No money was paid into the treasury, but 1,000 horses and 15,000 sheep were sent each year by way of tribute.

28. *Qanduz*.—Khaliq Ali Khan was the administrator of the district. His annual expenses were Rs. 2,10,000. He sent to the King 1,000 horses and 10,000 sheep every year as a tribute.

8. *Coin and Seal of Shah Zaman*

Shah Zaman struck a coin which bore the following inscription :—

”قرار یافت بحکم خدائے هر دو جهان
رواج سکے دولت بنام شاه زمان“

[By command of God of both the worlds the circulation of coin in the name of Shah Zaman became permanent in the realm.]

On the signet of his ring the following couplet was engraved :—

”قرار داد ز الطاف خویشتن یزدان
نگین حکم جهان را بنام شاه زمان“

[God by his personal favour settled the seal-ring in the name of Shah Zaman for exercising authority over the world¹.]

¹ *Tarikh-i-Sultani*, 162 ; *Whitehead*, iii, 103.

For an account of Shah Zaman's Indian invasions see the author's *History of the Trans-Sutlej Sikhs*, 1769—1799.

CHAPTER IX

THE AFGHAN ADMINISTRATION

1. *Weak hold over the Panjab*

THE Durrani Rulers cannot be said to have ever held the sovereignty of the Panjab. They ruled through their lieutenants over Kashmir, Multan, Lahore and Sirhind; but the Panjab proper was never for any continued period under their control. It was only by repeated incursions and by the terror of their personal prowess that they continued to keep a footing south-east of the Indus.

Ahmad Shah Durrani displayed brilliant feats of military skill; but he failed in applying the same vigour of character in measures adopted to retain the country as done in securing it. The total gain of his grand successes therefore was not much. He retired from the field leaving the Sikhs undisputed masters of the Panjab. His son and successor Timur Shah remained content with having recovered Multan. His grandson Shah Zaman came here with the determination to repeat the exploits of his grandfather and twice he seized Lahore. He, however, realized what a difficult task it was to retain possession of the capital; so he quitted this country never to disturb it again. Thus this struggle ended by the close of the century, and foreign invasions from the north-west completely ceased.

2. *The Form of Government*

The Afghan Government in the Panjab, as elsewhere, was in form monarchical, dictatorial, military, Islamic and absolute. No idea of any system of rule, different from the

will of a single person, was applied to this country. The Durrani emperors delegated their power and authority over as many provinces into which they deemed convenient to divide the empire. To the charge of each province a viceroy was appointed, and he enjoyed the full authority and jurisdiction of his master. Whatever powers the sovereign exercised over the whole kingdom, the viceroy exercised in his own province. If the province committed to his care was too extensive for his personal control it was further split up into divisions, over each of which a governor was appointed. The governor too was also entrusted with the same absolute powers as were enjoyed by his master. The governor often divided his authority among his deputies in charge of districts. Every one of these chiefs, whether the sphere of his command was narrow or extensive, was absolute within it, subject only to his superior. He possessed full powers of the sovereign to make or unmake any law, to levy taxes, to raise and command troops and to dispose of the lives and property of the subjects in any manner he pleased. The only check on his power was the fear of revolt, for the suppression of which he had an army under him.

The expenses of each district were defrayed out of the taxes raised therein, and the surplus was transmitted to the superior lord, to whom he was immediately responsible. From him it was conveyed to the viceroy who in turn sent it to the imperial treasury.

Peshawar, Kashmir, Sind, Multan, Lahore and Sirhind were the Durrani provinces in India each with a viceroy independent of one another, owing direct allegiance to the king. The governor was not interfered with as long as he remitted to the royal treasury regularly and punctually the sum of the annual tribute, and assisted the king with troops whenever so required.

3. Revenue Administration

The Durrani were always on the look-out for opportunities to extort as much money from the people as they could. A sum of money arbitrarily fixed at the time of each harvest was assigned to each village by the Afghan Nazim of the district, and the headman had to find money by any means in his power. The cultivator in return enjoyed no peace. The province remained a prey with little respite to the advancing and retiring of the Durrani, Sikh and Maratha armies. "Ahmad Shah's armies arrived here starving, and consumed the entire crops, raw as well as ripe. Tribute was demanded in addition. Under these circumstances the whole country was ruined."¹

The people were impoverished by a system of continuous freebooting which the Afghans regarded as the most important means of subsistence. Speaking about Nur-ud-din Bamizai, an Afghan general, the compiler of a district gazetteer writes: "The proceedings of this man may be taken as a type of the excesses committed by the invading armies, and some idea will be formed of the amount of misery caused by these inroads. Nur-ud-din, finding that the inhabitants would not pay the large ransom demanded of them, successively plundered and laid waste with fire and sword three of the largest towns of the district. Two of these, Bhera and Miani, rose again on their ruins, without however completely recovering the shock they had sustained; but of the third, Chak Sānu, the foundations alone are to be seen."²

The poor inhabitants tried to get out of the easy reach of the Afghan armies to save their life, honour and property. "Deserted sites all along the main road still tell how even the strongest villagers had to abandon the spot

¹ *Ali-ud-din*, 148 b.

² *Shahpur District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, pp. 15-7.

where their fathers had lived for centuries and make to themselves new homes on sites less pleasant to the eyes of marauding bands."¹

The sad plight of the cultivator may be summed up thus:—"Revenue administration there was none; the cultivator followed the plough with a sword in his hand; the collector came at the head of a regiment; and if he fared well another soon followed him to pick up the crumbs."²

4. *Judicial Administration*

The leader in war and the ruler in peace was also the dispenser of justice, and the regal, military and judicial functions were united in the same person. Various circumstances tended to produce this arrangement. Firstly, there were hardly any laws and thus the legislator who made a law for every occasion was entitled to judge. Secondly, it was feared that the unruly subjects would hardly respect inferior authority. Thirdly, the heads of government were so busy in administrative affairs and pleasure-seeking that they had no time to spare for an accurate investigation, and hence exercised arbitrary will and power. Fourthly, the people were so much accustomed to terminate their own disputes by their own force or fraud that the number of applications asking for justice was small.

In the eyes of the Afghans the subject people had no right to make appeals against the decisions of the viceroy or the governor and their orders were final except when the sovereign himself was present in this country. When a person happened to have access and appeal to the Emperor, justice was done in non-political matters. A writer makes

¹ *Karnal District Gazetteer*, 1892, p. 43.

² *Ibid.*

the following observation about Ahmad Shah Abdali: "He himself was Chief Justice as well as Commander-in-Chief, and no man disputed his decisions which were arrived at with patient care, and delivered with dignity and impartiality".¹

For the murder of an Afghan the people of the locality including the influential landlords were severely punished. Miskin, the eye-witness, narrates an incident: "In those days two Afghan horsemen were coming from Sirhind. By chance they lost their lives near the boundary of the fort of Boda Ram Das. As soon as Wazir Jahan Khan heard this news, he set a few bailiffs on the headman of the place in accordance with the practice as it prevailed in Afghanistan. This headman was a well-known chief and a famous leader of the Sikhs (Sodhi Barbhag Singh of Kartarpur), and commanded revenues of lakhs of rupees. The said bailiffs punished and persecuted him so severely in the Afghan manner that he was nearly brought to death's door".²

On another occasion the Mughlani Begam, herself an ex-Governor of Lahore, widow of the Viceroy of the Panjab, daughter-in-law of a grand Wazir of Delhi and grand daughter-in-law of another Prime Minister of the Mughal Empire was severely caned by Jahan Khan with his own hands for her having advised Adina Beg's agent in Lahore to go to Jullundur and bring the sum of tribute quietly. She was not set free from confinement, where unspeakable oppression was done to her, until she had paid the amount due from the Governor of the Jullundur Doab.³

The Durrani rulers were evidently not so much concerned with the settling of disputes as with the awarding of punishments. In this task they were assisted by Qazis,

¹ *Calcutta Review*, vol. li, 1870, p. 17.

² *Miskin*, 165.

³ *Ibid.*, 170.

Muftis and Maulvis. This made the clergy very influential and powerful, and not infrequently they interfered with the ordinary routine of the lives of the people.

Sometimes in fits of fury ferocious punishments were inflicted upon the offenders of the royal will. By way of illustration a Government report relating to Shah Zaman is quoted here: "The Shah being much offended with Kifayat Khan *Munshi* ordered him to be turned over to the man-eaters, of which there are three or four in the Shah's service, who ate some of the flesh off his shoulders and one of his toes. But being afterwards informed that he was a Sayyid he spared his life and confined him. He has consented to pay four lakhs."¹

5. *Recruitment to the Army*

In Afghanistan every man was a soldier. He attached himself to a chief as soon as he was able to hold a musket. When an expedition was announced, the chiefs with their contingents whose number varied in proportion to the nature and importance of the expedition, offered their services to the sovereign. In addition to these contingents, there was another class of fighters. These men were those residents of towns who were not attached to any chief. They joined the troops on their own responsibility and also at their own expense, and this chiefly for the sake of plunder. They organised themselves into small or large units, as circumstances demanded, under leader of their own choice. All these units taken together constituted the Afghan army. Further recruiting was done in India also, where generally foreigners from Central Asia wandering in this country in search of employment were enlisted for the occasion. In an emer-

¹ *Imperial Records, Foreign Department, Political Proceedings, 29th October, 1798, No. 25.*

gency every able-bodied man possessing a horse of his own was obliged by a general proclamation to fight in the Afghan army, which chiefly consisted of cavalry.¹

6. *The Army on March*

Every Afghan soldier carried his food in a leather bag slung behind the saddle. At home a lover of fine fare he was extremely temperate and frugal on his journey, and could live on whatever came handy. Though a disorderly and undisciplined mob, the army moved with great rapidity over long distances. The people of the villages on their way deserted their homes for fear of the Afghan atrocities.

While on march the army was divided into three parts, advance-guard, main body and the rear-guard. At the time of battle they were converted into the right, the centre and the left respectively. The advance-guard scouted for intelligence of the enemy's whereabouts, seized stores of food and fodder, mercilessly cut off all men of the enemy to suppress the news of their approach, and tried to take the enemy unawares. On their way they "abandoned themselves to all kinds of excesses, devastate the country, and leave behind the most fearful traces of their passage."²

7. *The Encampment*

On reaching the neighbourhood of the battle-field they neither paid much heed to the features of the ground, nor worried about protecting their flanks. They pitched their camps in a haphazard way, generally by the side of a village in order to ensure themselves of a regular supply of water. The tent of the chief was pitched in the centre, and around it the contingents formed an irregular circle. The Shah's tent had the appearance of a two-storied mosque.

¹ *Miskin*, 162.

² *Ferrier*, 309.

In front of it was fixed a cloth wall and in the back the ladies' tent. On the four corners of the royal camp four towers were temporarily erected. In the camp there were about fifty bankers and cloth merchants and nearly the same number of grocers, and about two hundred bakers, butchers, fruit sellers, carpenters and saddlers. The whole establishment had sufficient supplies of flour, butter and rice etc.¹

A note in the *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin* describes a royal camp thus: "The imperial enclosure of tents was about a mile and a quarter in circuit. It contained 120 tents, some of them large enough for several hundreds of men, and the largest could admit two or three thousands. All this was surrounded by a *kanat*, a wall of cloth, six feet high. Outside this there was a paling that surrounded the *kanats*. Between these two enclosures lived the guards."²

Before and during the period of the fight they made every possible effort to weaken the enemy "by ruining the country in his front, so that he cannot maintain himself; they burn the villages, expel the inhabitants, destroy the aqueducts."³

8. On the Battle-field

At the time of actual fighting they rushed on the enemy without the least apprehension. They seldom tried to maintain their communications. They directed all their energies to the spot on which their existence depended, and this place became the centre of their operations. They never bothered about the advantages of position, and attacked the enemy in line parallel to its ranks on all points. With the exception of a special contingent kept as reserve, the

¹ *Imperial Records, Persian Letters Received*, No. 104, 5th February, 1797.

² *Seir*, i, 24, f. n.

³ *Ferrier*, 313.

whole army joined in the fighting. When the enemy showed signs of exhaustion the reserve was immediately called on the scene, and the final assault was delivered with such fire and fury that more often than not they were victorious. While fighting they uttered dreadful and loud cries. The most daring of them placed themselves in the front lines. When the front ranks were exhausted, the soldiers in the rear advanced slowly and gradually to take their places, and the front men receded to the rear.

The Afghans were excellent skirmishers and daring foragers. Each contingent was perfectly independent in its manœuvres having no restraint of any discipline or subordination. They possessed a natural instinct to adopt a proper movement both in the case of victory or defeat which as a rule ensured success.

9. *After Victory*

Their victories were most horrible and disastrous for the vanquished. "But if they gain the day," says Ferrier on p. 314, "woe indeed to the conquered! for an Afghan ceases not from slaughter till his arm is wearied with striking; till then there is no quarter from him, and a hundred times better is it to die on the field than survive to be his slave, certain of the hardest possible toil and the most inhuman treatment."

Mustafa, the translator of *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*, who lived in India during the latter half of the 18th century, describes the Afghan method of carrying away a male slave: "Their method of carrying away a male prisoner is this, although not even themselves would use it to carry an ox or an ass. They bore a hole in his shoulder, under the clavicle bone so remarkable in it, and passing a thong or rope through it, make the end of it fast to their saddle, and then mount and trot away. If the prisoner cannot follow

at the rate of 30 or 40, 50 or 60 miles a day, he is instantly killed. Anty-physicians of the first rate, no boy, no young man of even twenty, can escape them; and when disputes arise about a prize, the whole is pacified by cutting down the prize. The women abused by them in an abominable manner, fled from them, and always preferred a well to an Afghan. Girls of twelve and fourteen have become unmarriageable in their diabolical hands. And we have seen a lady, who rather than submit to such an embrace, fought the Afghan resolutely, although unarmed. He lifted his sabre, and was going to cut her down, when she presented her arm loaded with one of those enormous bracelets, invented by necessity, of two pounds weight of gold, and received the stroke upon the gold, while she struck the man with the other bracelet, and made him bleed; another stroke, another parade and another heavy blow; a third and the poor woman fatigued, wounded and spent, was going to fall. Nothing but a miracle could save her, and a miracle was, in fact, wrought instantly. At the moment of the third stroke, a Persian, one of the Qazilbash guards, hastening his pace, cried out: 'In the name of God, Most Merciful' and with one blow made the Afghan's head fly off from his shoulders. The poor woman, who had never been out of her house, and had never set a foot upon a street, marched on without knowing whither she went, and in the evening, she was lucky enough to find her husband and family, at full twelve *kosses* from that fatal street. We have spoken to the lady; she is at Lucknow, a Khatrani by clan. *Ex uno disce omnes.*"¹

¹ A Translation of the *Seir Mutaqherin* by Seid-Gholam Hossein Khan, Calcutta, iii, 349-50.

In continuation of this incident Mustafa states: "An Afghan's method of cleansing himself is a very plain one, as the common soldiers wear nothing but felts, and go on with them for five years together. He lights up a fire, straddles over it, and keeps his body and abominable clothes in a semi-circular motion from right to left and from left to right. Nor are their officers much cleaner. Their beards and eyebrows swarm with vermin, as well as their soldiers."

10. *Passion and Weapons*

The dominating factor in the character of an Afghan was his love of war. In the 18th century as probably even now war was to him neither an art nor a science. He considered it a trade. The success of the Afghans was chiefly due to their unhesitating dash and courage, and not so much to their knowledge of military operations, strategy or tactics; though Ahmad Shah in his long career never lost sight of these factors. His successors, however, relapsed into the old practice.

Their favourite arms were long firelock and sword. They were considered as perfect marksmen in musketry, and in hand-to-hand fight they plied the sword most dexterously. As a matter of fact an Afghan regarded it the highest tribute to be called a swordsman. Among other arms used by them may be counted the swivel-gun, the carbine, a lance and sometimes a bow. The firearms were rough and heavy. They also carried a shield, a foot and a half in diameter and covered either with the hide of an elephant or horse or with copper.

11. *The Condition of the People*

The Durrani rulers were not good organisers, and therefore failed as builders of civil institutions. They carved out a military state in this country by the sword, tried to maintain it by the sword and it ultimately perished by the sword. They did not rule the Panjab as the guardians of the people for their general good. The main object of the government was to collect revenue, and for this purpose they tried to keep peace and order at the point of the bayonet. To secure the good-will and co-operation of the subjects was never their aim; the people on the other hand, were coerced into submission by sheer weight of force. The subordinate officers never aimed at ameliorat-

ing the condition of those entrusted to their care. They directed their attention mostly to enrich themselves at their cost. "This system of spoliation and embezzlement," says Ferrier, "is practised by functionaries of every class, and has a sad effect upon the minds of the masses, who follow the example of their superiors: seeing that the great, instead of occupying themselves with their welfare, only think of enjoying themselves at their expense, they become egotistical and avaricious in their turn, and prefer idleness to an industry, which serves only to benefit their oppressors, and draws upon themselves additional persecution. To seize without ceremony upon the property of other people is an example which the Afghans receive daily from their chiefs, and it appears to them a practice both convenient and just; the effect of this is a permanent state of disquietude and trouble."¹

12. *Effect on the Indian Dress, Dancing and Drama*

The Durrani rule and the Afghan contact with Indians had a distinct effect on the Indian dress and drama. This could not escape the notice of Mustafa, the translator of *Siyar-ul-Mutakharin*: "The dress at court, even in winter, is the white and it is also the general colour used by all the inhabitants of India, high and low. Since the Abdalis have come to cut so great a figure in Hindustan, their dress, which is the Persian, is become of fashion, especially in winter, and of course coloured and rich stuffs are admired especially at the Court of Lucknow. However, it must be remembered that fine cotton stuffs, embroidered or not, are more costly in India, than either silks or brocades."²

As regards the change that took place in Indian dancing and drama, Mustafa's observation would not be out of

¹ *History of the Afghans*, 303.

² *Seir*, iv, 139, f. n.

interest: "The Indians have no other comedies than such farces as were known in Europe three hundred years ago, but with this difference, that they never mix anything religious in their performances, and that these exhibitions, on the other hand, were always decent, and often chaste. But since the Abdali or Persian dress and even the Peshtoo language and modes and customs, have come to give the tone to the Courts of Delhi and Lucknow, many shocking indecencies, mostly of the dissenting kind, are admitted and much laughed at, in those comedies; moreover, the very dances, which were both graceful and modest in India have been tainted with that style. So that even women now dance the Caharvara for Chairmen's dance, a dance which would be akin to the Spanish fandango danced by sailors, were it danced by men mixed with women; for it is these only that dance it, dressed in Chairmen's garbs."¹

[For the effect of the Durrani on the character of the people and the villages in the Panjab see the author's *History of the Sikhs, 1739 to 1768*, pp. 297-306.]

13. Conclusion

The constitution of the Afghan government and army was calculated more to destroy than to create an empire, and the spirit which directed their internal administration prevented all chances of improvement of the country over which they claimed sovereign rights. There can be no doubt that the final destruction of the Durrani political power and the substitution of orderly government by the Sikhs were necessary, and productive of great benefit to the province. The following extract from a district gazetteer is equally applicable to the whole country under Durrani occupation:—

"The Sikhs were not pattern rulers, but they intro-

¹ *Seir*, iv, 140, f. n.

duced a rude and imperfect order. Previous to their advent, if we may trust uncontradicted tradition, the whole district was the scene of one perpetual but petty warfare. Tribe fought with tribe, chief with chief and village with village. Society lived in a sort of trustless truce broken from time to time by treacherous murders and thievish forays. In some villages the high places are still shown, where watchers were always stationed to beat the alarm drum on the approach of an enemy. The Sikhs did not, and probably could not, put a complete end to these disorders; but they cut short their boundaries and lessened their violence. They were themselves careless of everything that touched not their authority or their revenue, but they kept society together and prevented anarchy."¹

¹ *Jhelum District Gazetteer*, 1883-4, p. 45.

CHAPTER X

THE INVADER'S ROAD FROM DELHI TO KABUL

Introduction

THIS chapter is based on several contemporary sources. Rai Chatarman's *Chahar Gulshan*, written in 1759, arranged and edited by the author's grandson in 1789, gives a good account of the various stages of the road between Delhi and Kabul. The Rai was in the service of Ghazi-uddin, Imad-ul-Mulk, the grand Wazir of Delhi. Muhammad Jafar Shamlu, the author of *Tarikh-i-Manazil-ul-Fatuh*, accompanied Ahmad Shah Durrani during his fifth invasion and was present at the battle of Panipat in 1761. He wrote a valuable description of all these stages. Ghulam Sarwar travelled from Lucknow to Kabul and back again in 1793-5 and submitted a paper containing a report on these stages to the British Resident. In 1796 Sayyid Imam-ud-din Husaini of Lucknow joined Shah Zaman at Lahore, and followed him in his train to Afghanistan, returning in 1798. His work *Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi* contains interesting details of the invader's road. In 1797, J. Lumsden, the British Resident at Lucknow, despatched Sheikh Rahim Ali to Kabul, and the best part of his narrative is on the above subject.

In the Panjab, particularly between Delhi and Lahore pillars were fixed at regular intervals, the distance between the two being named a *kos*. The pillars could be seen from a distance, and there was almost no risk for the traveller to lose his way even at night. In addition to the *kos*-pillars, the traveller had the advantage of trees, planted along the road on both sides, and *serais* or halting places at

certain distances for his accommodation. As a rule each *serai* was provided with a tank for the supply of water to men and beasts. The remains of some of these *serais* and pillars can still be traced.

From Delhi to Kabul the road was divided into 75 stages :

1. *Badli Serai*, 9 miles from Delhi. The people of this place were generally employed in trade and commerce. They settled there from Central Panjab, especially from Lahore. The inhabitants of the district were *zamindars*, chiefly Jats and Gujars. Along the road from Delhi to this place there were ruins of the Shalamar Garden, palaces, mosques, tombs and water courses. The Jumna flowed at a distance of two miles to the east. The dry bed of Ali Mardan Khan's canal dug in the reign of Shahjahan, and taken off from the Sirmur hills near Mukhlispur could be traced southward of the Grand Trunk Road. Firoz Shah's canal also lay in ruins. The soil was fertile capable of growing all kinds of crops. An army with heavy artillery could easily pass on the road. All facilities were provided to the traveller.

2. *Narela*, 7 miles from Badli. The road was lined by lofty and shady trees. The cultivators were mostly Jats. Soil was fertile. In some places vast tracts of tall grass while in others trees abounded. Numerous wells of sweet water existed everywhere. Heavy artillery could pass without any difficulty.

3. *Sonipat*, 11 miles. The town was inhabited by Hindus and Muslims. Raja Shiv Nath Qanungo built a wall around it. It had a good brick *serai* for the travellers.

4. *Ganaur*, 10 miles. The cultivators were Jats, but the landlords were Muslims. The peasants were of refractory nature. Soil was productive. The road was

wide and wells of fine water were available everywhere. The road was unsafe, being infested with thieves and robbers.

5. *Samalkha*, 7 miles. The river Jumna flowed to the north, about 10 miles distant; while the traces of Firoz Shah's canal existed to the south nearly at the same distance. There were jungles of *plās* and *dhāk* trees. The road was shady, but unsafe. There were numerous wells of good drinking water.

6. *Panipat*, 11 miles. The Jumna ran towards the north and Firoz Shah's canal to the south at short distances. The Elwa Ghat on the Jumna was situated at a distance of five *kos*. The country was covered with a jungle of *dhāk* trees and thorny bushes, and was infested with thieves and robbers.¹ People were of a rebellious character, and the inhabitants chiefly consisted of Jats and Muslim Rajputs. Land was fertile and the road good.

7. *Gharaunda*, 11 miles. The people were of refractory character, and were generally given to thieving. Soil was productive and the road in good condition, but travelling was unsafe. Kunjpura, the well known seat of Afghan Chiefs, was situated to the right hand side on the bank of the Jumna.

8. *Karnal*, 10 miles. An aqueduct crossed the road

¹ The insecurity of the road between Ganaur and Panipat was described in an interesting couplet by a contemporary poet, Shah Mubarik Abru:—

”پانی پت آج چھوڑ جو گنور تم چلے
تو راہ بیچ جاٹو جاناں سنبھالکے“

The very name of the place Samalkha, (*Be alert*), situated between Ganaur and Panipat gave a warning to the traveller. In the couplet quoted above there is a pun on the word *Sambhālke*. Cf. *Ab-i-Hayat* by Maulana Muhammad Husain Azad, p. 100.

between Gharaunda and Karnal. Karnal formed the boundary line of the territory under the Maratha influence. In 1795, Fazal Ali, a Muslim Chauhan Rajput, was the *zamindar* of the place. The remains of Firoz Shah's canal could be seen, and about the close of the 18th century there still existed a very strong brick-built bridge over it. Soil was fertile, and road well provided with good drinking water, but travelling was dangerous on account of the constant fear of thieves.

9. *Taraori*, also called Azimabad, 8 miles. About, 5 *kos* from this place there were the ruins of a *serai* known as Hajam. Gulsher Khan, the grandson of Najabat Khan, the chief of Kunjpura, was the ruler of the place. The Jumna flowed 7 *kos* northward. Land, road and people resembled those of Karnal.

10. *Thanesar*, 13 miles. It was under Phoca [Bhanga] Singh Dallewalia, and was "in consequence of the industry of the Sikhs very well cultivated." The river Sarasvati flowed 3 miles to the west and crossed the main road. The place was visited by Hindu pilgrims. Sikhs were found in a large number. The peasants were chiefly Muslim Rajputs.

11. *Shahabad*,¹ 14 miles. The Markanda stream crossed the road below this place. It was an old town, and possessed a big brick-built *serai*. Karam Singh Nirmala was the chief who had converted the *serai* into a fort for his own residence. The *zamindars* were mostly Sikhs and Jats. Land was fertile and the road shady abounding in fountains of sweet water at convenient intervals.

12. *Ambala*, 17 miles. The river Ghaggar flowed near it. The crossing of it in the rainy season was extremely dangerous. The road also became muddy and slippery, and

¹ Between Thanesar and Shahabad Shamlu puts Pehowa as one of the stages.

was difficult to pass by an army in rains. The town was "possessed by the nephew of Laal Singh, deceased, who retains 200 horsemen in his service."

13. *Raja Serai*¹ (modern *Rajpura*), 13 miles. The town contained 2,000 houses, many of which were made of stone and brick. Raja Sahib Singh of Patiala was the ruler of the place. The *zamindars* were mostly Sikhs and Jats. The road was level and shady; wells, fountains and mango orchards abounded on either side. The soil was productive.

14. *Sirhind*, 15 miles. Raja Sahib Singh ruled over this place. The fort of Sirhind was in ruins. A stream flowed near it which was flooded in the rains. "Over that there is a brick bridge, near the Shalamar's gardens."

15. *Khanna Serai*, 11 miles. There was an old serai in ruins. The place also had a deserted appearance. The *zamindars* were mostly Jats.

16. *Serai Lashkari Khan*, 9 miles. Tara Singh Ghaiba was the chief of the place.

17. *Ludhiana*,² 18 miles. The town was situated on the eastern bank of the Sutlej, the first of the Panjab rivers. Tara Singh Ghaiba ruled over the place. The *zamindars* were mostly Muslim Rajputs.

18. *Phillaur*, 8 miles. It was a small enclosed town. Originally it was a *serai* called *Serai Filori Khan* built by Zakariya Khan, the Viceroy of the Panjab, (1726-1745), after the name of his son known to history as Shahnawaz Khan, Viceroy of the Panjab, (1747-1748).

¹ Shamlu omits this stage.

² Pail is the only stage mentioned by Shamlu between Sirhind and Ludhiana.

19. *Serai Nur Mahal*, 12 miles. The place was under Tara Singh Ghaiba.

20. *Nakodar Serai*, 8 miles. It was ruled over by Tara Singh Ghaiba. The district of Bajwara in which this place was situated was famous for Chandeli(?) cloth which attracted merchants from distant places such as Multan, Kashmir, Peshawar and Kabul.

21. *Dakhni Serai*, 5 miles. It belonged to Tara Singh Ghaiba. In several parts of the road there were remains of magnificent buildings.

22. *Tuti Serai*,¹ 12 miles. It was in ruins. The chief of the place was Sardar Bhag Singh Ahluwalia.

23. *Sultanpur*, 12 miles. Sugar-cane was grown here in abundance. Sardar Bhag Singh Ahluwalia was the chief of the place.

24. *Goindwal*,² 13 miles. The river Beas was crossed over at this place. It was under Sardar Bhag Singh Ahluwalia.

25. *Aurangabad Serai*, 8 miles. It belonged to Sardar Bhag Singh of Kapurthala.

26. *Nur-ud-din Serai*, 8 miles. The *zamindars* were chiefly Jats.

27. *Serai Amanat Khan*, 11 miles. The *zamindars* were Jats, and the chief was Mohar Singh, the son of Sobha Singh of Lahore.

¹ Shamlu refers to no stage between Nur Mahal and Tuti Serai.

² According to Shamlu the river was crossed at Fatahabad, 3 miles to the west.

28. *Raja Tal*, 8 miles. It was possessed by Lahna Singh, one of the Lahore chiefs.

29. *Khankhanan Serai*, 12 miles. It was under Lahna Singh of Lahore.

30. *Lahore*, 7 miles. It was situated on the bank of the Ravi which flowed just below the fort. The suburbs lay deserted. The city was ruled over by three chiefs, Lahna Singh, Sahib Singh Bhangi, son of Gujar Singh, and Mohar Singh, son of Sobha Singh.

31. *Shahdara*, 4 miles. It was famous for Jahangir's tomb situated in a garden. The chief of this place was Lahna Singh, "who is much beloved for his justice and benevolence."

32. *Serai Fazalabad*, 8 miles. Lahna Singh was the chief of the place.

33. *Pul Shah Daula*, 10 miles. There was a bridge on the Degh river which ran in the rains from the hills. This place belonged to Jodh Singh who kept 100 horsemen.

34. *Eminabad*, 11 miles. The chief of this place was Ranjit Singh, the son of Mahan Singh.

35. *Serai Kachchi or Gujar Serai*,¹ (modern Gujranwala), 8 miles. There was a mud fort which was pulled down by Shah Zaman. It was the head-quarters of Ranjit Singh who kept 3,000 horsemen in his service, and could collect many more in an emergency.

36. *Cheemah Gakhar or Serai Gakhar*, 10 miles.

37. *Nizamabad*,² 6 miles. It belonged to Ranjit Singh.

¹ Jafar Shamlu mentions two different places named Kachcha Serai and Gujran Serai. *Tarikh-i-Manazil-ul-Fatuh*, p. 20.

² Several authorities make no mention of this stage.

38. *Wazirabad*, 4 miles. It was situated on the eastern bank of the Chenab. The *zamindars* were mostly Muslims, but the chief was Sahib Singh Bhangi, son of Gujar Singh, who maintained a contingent of 1,000 horse.

39. *Gujrat Shah Daula*, 9 miles. It was under Sahib Singh Bhangi.

40. *Khwaspurah*, popularly known as *Khwas Khan's Serai*, 11 miles. After this Bhimbar river was crossed. It was also under Sahib Singh Bhangi. The road was bad, cut by various ravines. The inhabitants were Jats and Muslims.

41. *Kharian*, 12 miles. From this place rocky land began, and it continued increasing. The soil was not so productive as in the last stages. The road was difficult to pass. The people were mostly Muslim Jats.

42. *Aurangabad*,¹ 10 miles. There was a brick-built serai, and many tanks. Road was bad and unfit for the passage of artillery.

43. *Jhelum*, 2 miles. It was situated on the bank of the river Jhelum. Upward it was known by the name of Behet and downward from this place by that of Jhelum. The country was rocky and road bad. It was under Sahib Singh Bhangi.

44. *Rohtas*, 12 miles. It was a strong fort built on a hill. It was in the possession of Nur Khan who owed allegiance to Ranjit Singh, but on Shah Zaman's arrival had also submitted to him, maintaining at the same time friendly relations with the Sikhs.

45. *Kasran Serai*, 6 kos. The chief of the place was

¹ This stage is omitted by Shamlu.

Sahib Singh Bhangi, but it was held on his behalf by Nur Khan of Rohtas. Scarcity of grain prevailed here as the soil was not fit for cultivation. Roads were bad.

46. *Serai Jalal*, 5 kos. There was the tomb of Pir Jalal. Nur Khan was the *zamindar*, and Sahib Singh was the Chief. The land was rocky and covered with jungle. Road was difficult to pass.

47. *Dukka Serai*, 6 kos. It was situated on a hill. A *nullah* crossed the road at this place. The *zamindars* were of Gakhar tribe.

48. *Serai Kale Khan*, 6 kos. The chief of the place was Sahib Singh who kept here a contingent of 500 horse to maintain his authority.

49. *Pakka Serai*,¹ 8 kos. It was owned by an Afghan tribe who owed no allegiance to the Sikhs. They spoke a mixture of Panjabi and Pashto languages. The soil was good in quality, but the road was bad.

50. *Rawalpindi*, 4 kos. This place was under Milkha Singh Thepuria. The *Khattak* Afghans were supreme in the district. Whenever they were attacked by the Sikhs they submitted to them and paid tribute; but afterwards assumed an independent attitude.

51. *Kharpura Serai*, 4 kos. A stream ran by it. There was a bridge of bricks over the stream. The *zamindars* were Afghans. Though they were attacked by the Sikhs and deprived of their cattle, but they did not submit to them. At a distance of 5 kos the road was crossed by a stream called Kala Pani.²

¹ Between Pakka Serai and Rawalpindi Shamlu puts Serai Lashkari, while he mentions no stage between Rohtas and Pakka Serai.

² Shamlu mentions Kala Pani and Kotal Margala as two stages between Kharpura and Hasan Abdal.

52. *Hasan Abdal*, 7 kos. The *zamindars* were Afghans who paid tribute to the Kabul Government.

53. *Serai Meeran*,¹ 8 kos. The Serai was in ruins. There were several stone buildings. The *zamindars* were Muslims. Land was level and well cultivated and the road good.

54. *Serai Dangran*, 7 kos. This was a deserted place, though it was well cultivated and had wells and fountains.

55. *Shamsabad*, 8 kos. It was situated on an eminence. The place was well inhabited. *Zamindars* were *Khattak* Afghans.

56. *Attock*, 10 miles. It stood on a hill on the bank of the Indus. The country to the left was swampy. The place contained about 2,000 houses, but the neighbourhood was ill-inhabited. The fort was in possession of the *Khattak* Afghans.

57. *Khairabad*,² 3 miles. It was situated on the western bank of the Indus opposite Attock. There were 200 houses, and a small bazar. The *Khattak* Afghans were the lords of the land.

58. *Akorah Khattak*,³ 8 miles. A *nullah* crossed the road near it. The place was owned by *Khattak* Afghans.

59. *Shahabad*,⁴ 20 miles. There was a brick-built *serai*. Road was good and shady; and the land level and well watered.

¹ This stage is not mentioned by Shamlu.

² This stage is omitted by Shamlu.

³ Rahim Ali calls it Caramaskin Serai.

⁴ Some mention Nowshera first and then Shahabad. Shamlu gives Chamakni as a stage between Nowshera and Peshawar.

60. *Peshawar*, 16 miles. There was the famous fort of Bala Hissar, and many stone buildings. The soil was fertile and well watered. It was noted for fruits, sugar-cane and rice. The best quality of rice grown in Bara was sold from 8 to 12 rupees per maund. Scent of roses was prepared on a big scale and was priced from 5 to 40 rupees per *tola*. The inhabitants were chiefly Afghans. Zirido Khan was the chief appointed by Shah Zaman. He maintained a force of 5,000 horse. "But the people of this city are rebellious, quarrelsome and given to the use of abusive language."¹

61. *Jamrud*, 11 miles. It was situated at the mouth of the Khyber Pass on a range of hills. It had a strong fort. The country was owned by the Afridi Afghans of *Khalil* tribe.

62. *Ali Masjid*, 10 miles. The land was covered with low hills; water was dirty and grain scarce. Afridi Afghans were powerful there.

63. *Fort of Lal Beg*, 12 miles. It contained 300 houses and a bazaar. The Afridis served as guards on the road; but sometimes they plundered the merchants and rich travellers themselves.²

64. *Dakka*, 12 miles. The Afghans of Mahmand and Shinwari tribes were in power. The river Kabul was crossed nearly four miles away from this place. Road was almost level, and on either side there were bare rocky hills.

65. *Isuāli*, 13 miles. The land was hilly, but well cultivated. Mahmand Afghans were powerful.³ The road

¹ *Husain Shahi*, 245. Imam-ud-din noted that in this city there were about 3,000 Kashmiris and a large number of Kalals.

² This stage is not mentioned by Shamlu.

³ Between Isuāli and Jalalabad Shamlu puts Ali Boghan as one of the stages. Cf. p. 13.

ran nearly parallel to the Kabul river between two ranges of mountains. The country was stony and barren.

66. *Jalalabad*,¹ 30 miles. The road was fairly good and land well cultivated. The cultivated portions were generally intersected by water courses. *Zamindars* and husbandmen were mostly Afghans of Tajik tribe.

67. *Charbagh*, 10 miles. Tajik Afghans were supreme. It was well inhabited and cultivated. The road was covered with high and lofty trees, and was for the most part level. There was a garden named *Balabagh* built by Ali Mardan Khan.

68. *Fatahabad*, 8 miles. Snakes abounded here.

69. *Nimlah Bagh*, 10 miles. The road was level and shady. There was a royal garden built by Ali Mardan Khan and planted with cypress, poplar and fruit trees.

70. *Gandamak*, 8 miles. The land was badly cultivated and the road difficult to pass. There was an abrupt rise in the land. Water and provisions were abundant. *Khagwati* Afghans were supreme here.

71. *Surkhab* or *Surkh Rod*, 8 miles. The place was thinly inhabited. Goats were abundant, and people lived on flesh and milk of goats, and wore clothes made of their skin. *Khagwati* Afghans were in power.

72. *Jagdalak*, 16 miles. The place was under the *Nazim* of Kabul. The road was bad, and passed through a

¹ Between *Dakka* and *Jalalabad* *Ghulam Sarwar* gives two stages, *Deh-i-Ghulaman* and *Serai Weeran*; while *Husain Shahi* puts three, *Hazar Nao*, *Bhatti Kot*, and *Ali Boghan*. But *Rahim Ali* gives a reason for this stage being so long saying that "there is no halting place of safety in the way, as Afghans plunder all caravans that are not well escorted."

barren country, and narrow defiles.¹

73. *Barikab*, 17 miles. It was inhabited chiefly by Tajik Afghans. The road passed through low hills, and up and down steep ascents. Water and provisions could be had at several places.

74. *Butkhak*, 16 miles. The road passed through the pass of Khurd Kabul, narrow defiles and lofty hills.

75. *Kabul*,² 12 miles. Nearly in the middle of the two places the Logar river was crossed. The cultivators on the way were chiefly Tajik Afghans. The city was situated at a height of 6,000 feet.

¹ Shamlu does not mention this stage.

² Between Barikab and Kabul Shamlu gives four stages: Chaman Khubi, Khurd Kabul, Tezin, and Kitah Sang. *Tarikh-i-Manazil-ul-Fatuh*, 10-11.

APPENDIX

THE FIRST SIKH COIN OF LAHORE

November, 1761

AFTER the Third Battle of Panipat Ahmad Shah Durrani retired from the Panjab in May, 1761, leaving behind him Sarbuland Khan and Khwajah Abed as Governors of Multan and Lahore respectively. Ghamand Chand, the Katoch ruler of Kangra, was entrusted with the government of Jullundur Doāb with Saadat Khan and Sadiq Khan Afridi as his deputies. Zain Khan was given independent charge of Sirhind. They all had instructions from their master to spare no pain to crush the power of the Sikhs.

But the Sikhs proved more than a match for the lieutenants of the Durrani. About 4,000 of them collected on this side of the Chenab and started plundering the country all round. Nawab Khwajah Mirza Khan who was in charge of the *Chahar Mahal* came out to oppose them, but he was defeated and killed in the action.

The Sikhs marching across the upper districts in the Rechna, Bari and Jullundur Doābs appeared in the Cis-Sutlej territory, and attacked Bhikhan Khan of Malerkotla who had recently incurred their wrath for helping Zain Khan of Sirhind against them. The town of Malerkotla was given over to plunder.

On getting these alarming reports and also still smarting under the insults which the Sikhs had heaped upon him during his return march through the Rechna Doāb, Ahmad Shah Abdali despatched to the Panjab a well-trained force

under his trusted general Nur-ud-din. But as ill-luck would have it, even Nur-ud-din suffered a humiliating defeat at the hands of Sardar Charat Singh at Sialkot. He had to flee from the citadel under cover of darkness leaving the Afghan garrison to its fate which soon after surrendered to the Sikh Chief. Charat Singh flushed with victory returned to his head-quarters at Gujranwala and apprehensive of danger from the Governor of Lahore started further strengthening his defences. His apprehensions proved too true. Khwajah Abed invaded Gujranwala in September, 1761. Charat Singh, on his part, was ready to meet the invader. The siege of Gujranwala was thus prolonged; and in the meantime other notable Sikh leaders like Jassa Singh Ahluwalia, Hari Singh and Jhanda Singh Bhangi, Jai Singh Kanhiya, Lahna Singh and Sobha Singh with their contingents from all over the Panjab rushed to his aid. Khwajah Abed was thus besieged in turn and he almost lost his wits. He sought safety in flight and left the field without striking a decisive blow. The Sikhs who were ever on the watch of the movements of the enemy lost no time and fell upon the retreating Afghan troops and relieved them of a large number of swivels, pieces of cannon, stores and provisions, horses and camels and other camp baggage.

This continuous round of rapid victories achieved by the Sikhs within a short space of about four months after the departure of Ahmad Shah laid practically the whole of the Panjab at their feet.¹ The Sikhs, therefore, performed a thanksgiving service at Amritsar on the occasion of the Diwali festival which fell on October 22, 1761.² There they held a general assembly and passed a Gurumata³ that they must capture Lahore, without the possession of which

¹ *Miskin*, 237.

”در تمام ملک سکهای ساثر و دائر بودند
”غرضیکه از دریائے اٹک تا بدریائے سرهند سکهای محیط و
متصرف گشتند“

² *Khushwaqt Rai*, 94.

³ *Ali-ud-din*, 123b.

they could not look upon themselves as a supreme power in the land of the five rivers.

Consequently, the Dal Khalsa under their chief leader Jassa Singh Ahluwalia marched upon Lahore in a body, laid siege to the city and cut off all means of communication, allowing nobody to come in or go out of the town.¹ Khwajah Abed, the Lahore governor, shut himself up in the fort and did not stir out to oppose them. The noted citizens, knowing the weakness of the Governor, opened negotiations with Jassa Singh and threw open the gates of the city, thus saving the town from the horrors of a sack. Now there were two rulers in one place, the Sikhs in the city and Khwajah Abed in the fort.² But the Governor seems to have met his death shortly afterwards as we are given to understand by the contemporary author of *Khazana-i-Amira*.³ In a fit of enthusiasm and delight the Sikhs fulfilled the wishes of their revered leader late Nawab Kapur Singh by declaring Jassa Singh Ahluwalia as Padshah. Then seizing the royal mint, they struck the first Sikh rupee which bore the following inscription:—

”سکہ زد درجہاں بفضل اکال—ملک احمد گرفت جسا کلال“

[Jassa Kalal, having seized the country of Ahmad, struck coin in the world by the grace of God].⁴

The capture of the provincial capital and coining of money marked the highest point, though temporarily, in the

¹ *Ahmad Shah*, 889.

”کار بجائے کشید کہ هیچ کس نے تو انست کہ از حصار شهر

لاہور بیرون بر آید“

² *Gyan Singh*, 809-10.

³ *Khazana-i-Amira* is also supported by *Ratan Singh*, pp. 495-6, who, while describing Abed's attack on Gujranwala, says that he came to Lahore where he was shortly afterwards put to death by Charat Singh.

⁴ *Khazana-i-Amira*, 113-4; *Siyar*, iii, 74; *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*, 121b-122a; *Sohan Lal*, i, 146-7; *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 173; *Gyan Singh*, 1036; *Raj Khalsa*, 374; *British Museum Persian Akhbarat*, Or. 25.021, Vol. II, folio 57a, dated the 4th November, 1783.

evolution of the Sikh power. It translated their ideal into actuality and fulfilled the prophecy of the last Guru to the realization of which they had to wade through streams of blood and tread over heaps of corpses of their own brethren. This raised them to a first grade authority and made them a sovereign power. The people of the Panjab now realized that even in case the Khalsa were expelled from Lahore, they were destined to become its masters sooner or later. But, as the irony of fate would have it, this great glory of the Sikhs was to be followed, only within three months, by the hardest blow they had ever sustained.

At this place it seems necessary to offer a word of explanation regarding the date of this coin. Most of the writers on Sikh History have stated that the Sikhs alone expelled Timur Shah and Jahan Khan from Lahore, occupied the provincial capital, declared their sovereignty and their leader Jassa Singh struck coin in his own name.¹

Browne is the earliest writer to make this statement in his *India Tracts*. He says: "The Sicks collected together under their chiefs from all quarters, and blockading the city of Lahore, collected the revenues of the country all around for their own use. Jehan Khan with the Prince, marched out to give them battle; but after several actions, finding the Sicks too numerous for him to contend with, he retreated to Kandahar. Upon this occasion, Jessa Sing Kelal, who was at the time commander-in-chief of the Dul, struck rupees in his own name, at the royal mint at Lahore, with the following inscription,

'Jessa Kelal conquered the country of Ahmed and struck this coin by the Grace of God'."

Browne based his account on the authority of two Panjabis whose dates are admitted even by Browne himself

¹ Cf. Browne, ii, 19; Malcolm, 94-5; Bakhtmal, 82; Khushwaqi Rai, 104; Elphinstone's *Caubul*, ii, 289; Cunningham, 105; Latif's *Panjab*, 231; Gordon, 61; Narang, 148.

as "extremely defective". In the introduction on pp. iii-iv he states: "Having met with two Hindoos of considerable knowledge, who were natives of Lahore, where they had resided the greater part of their lives, and who had in their possession, accounts of the rise and progress of the Sicks, written in the Nuggary (or common Hindoo) character, I persuaded them to let me have a translation of one of them in the Persian language, abridging it as much as they could do, without injuring essential purpose of information. After all, I found it extremely defective in a regular continuation of dates, and therefore not deserving the name of a history."

Browne compiled his *India Tracts* about twenty years after this date and we cannot say whether Browne's Panjabi friends were eye-witnesses of this event as described by them. Hence we can safely reject their authority in view of the more tangible evidence of the eye-witness Miskin, and the Marathas. Miskin held an important position in the Court of Timur Shah, and was therefore able to study the events first hand. He was in the blooming youth at this time being only 19 years old and we therefore cannot suspect that his memory would have failed him when he compiled his autobiography in 1782. Moreover, his account of the expulsion of the Afghans from Lahore is so vivid and profuse in details that such a striking event as the capture and occupation of Lahore by Jassa Singh and the issue of coins by him could not have escaped his notice. Besides, almost all his details are also supported by Marathi records.¹

The rest of the authorities are much later and do not claim having based this statement on contemporary evidence. Hence this assertion of the Panjab historians does not appear to be founded on facts.

¹ Ratan Singh in his *Panth Parkash* also states that Lahore was taken by the joint forces of the Sikhs and the Marathas. Cf. p. 424.

We have, however, assigned November, 1761 as the probable date of the minting of this coin. Miskin had left Lahore three years earlier and hence his authority fails us on this occasion. But the contemporary author of *Khazana-i-Amira*, compiling his work somewhere between July, 1762 and July, 1763 says that the Sikhs killed the Durrani Governor of Lahore, captured the capital and issued this coin, and that it was due to these doings of the Sikhs that Ahmad Shah invaded India in February, 1762 and inflicted a severe defeat on the Sikhs, massacring about 12,000 Sikhs.¹

The statement of the author of the *Khazana-i-Amira*

¹ *Khazana-i-Amira*, 114:—

”قوم سکه ساکن صوبہ پنجاب کہ از قدیم الایام خیر مایہ فتنہ و فساد اند و با اسلامیان عداوت و تعصب شدید دارند تا آنکہ معاندہ کردہ بودند کہ شاہ چندین مرتبہ ہندوستان را بی سپر ساخت از راہ ناعاقبت اندیشی علم دغی و شورش افراشتہ فاشب شاہ را در لاہور کشتند و حسا سنگہ نامی را از قوم خود بیادشاہی برداشتہ دیوار ہرمسند جم کشاندند و روئے سکہ را بنام او سیاہ کردند و بلاد لاہور و اطراف آنرا بہ تصرف آوردہ خلق اللہ را سیمما فرقہ مسلمین را اذیتہا رسانیدند شاہ درانی ہاستماع این اخبار بر عادت معمولہ خود باز نہضت ہند و چون کل زمین لاہور را متعل قزول اجلال ساخت “

[“The Sikh people of the Panjab, who from early times have been a source of mischief and sedition and are bigoted enemies of the Musalmans, in spite of the observance of the fact that the Shah had so many times overrun India, owing to the want of foresight raised the standard of rebellion and disturbance and killed his viceroy at Lahore. They raised a person named Jassa Singh from among themselves to the status of a king, and like the demon, they made him sit on the throne of Jamshid, and blackened the face of the coin with his name. Having taken possession of the city of Lahore and its suburbs, they molested God's creatures in general and the Muslims in particular. Hearing this news, Shah Durrani, according to his established practice, again moved towards India.”]

does not seem improbable. Ahmad Shah was already making preparations to invade India¹, and when he received this news, he at once set out and defeated the Sikhs in the battle of Kup on the 5th February, 1762. On the other hand, the capture of Lahore by the Sikhs at this time does not appear to be out of the range of possibility. They had put to death Khwajah Mirza Khan, an ex-Governor of Lahore, then in charge of Chahar Mahal (June); expelled the Durrani *faujdar*s of the Jullundur Doab (July); plundered Sirhind and Malerkotla (July); defeated Abdali's general Nur-ud-din (August), and routed Khwajah Abed, Lahore Governor (September). It is therefore not strange that after having achieved such splendid victories, they took Lahore in November, 1761.²

The Sikh scholars³ cherish a doubt as to the striking of this coin on the following grounds:—

1. It is insulting for a Sikh to be addressed without the surname of *Singh*.

¹ A Marathi letter, dated the 27th October, 1761, states that the Durrani vanguard has advanced as far as Attock. *Selections from Peshwa's Daftar*, XXIX, 16.

² A Marathi letter, dated 17-11-1761 says that the Sikhs are causing tumult in Lahore. [“सिखांही लाहौर प्रांती हंगामा केला आहे ”]

S.P.D. XXIX, 24. The famous Sikh Historian Sir Lepel Griffin was nearer correction when he wrote:—

“Nor were these coins struck before 1762; not in 1757-8, as stated by Cunningham; and it is very doubtful whether they were struck in large numbers at all. The Raja of Kapurthala has none in his possession, nor do I know anyone who has seen one.” *Rajas of the Punjab*, footnote, p. 461.

It is remarkable to note that Gyan Singh gives the correct year of this coin. Cf. *Raj Khalsa*, 374.

³ Even Dr. Sinha, without consulting any of the works quoted above in this connection, jumps to the conclusion that these coins were not struck at all, and refers to no authorities on whom he bases this statement. Cf. *Rise of the Sikh Power*, 94.

2. A Sikh would never claim any credit to himself but to the Guru. Even Ranjit Singh on having established monarchy did not issue a coin in his own name.

3. The coin is not available anywhere and no historian claims having seen it.

4. Jassa Singh could not issue a coin in his own name because it would have meant the loss of confidence of his comrades.

5. He could not have used the title *Kalal* (distiller of wine).

6. Ganesh Das clearly states that such coins bearing this inscription were minted by the bigoted *Mullahs* of Lahore and were sent to Kabul to excite the passion of revenge of Ahmad Shah Abdali against the Sikhs.

Before we produce necessary evidence against these views, it may be pointed out that the capture of the provincial capital was the greatest achievement of the Sikhs during the century, and it naturally excited their zeal and sentiments of delight to a degree that they seem to have forgotten all such feelings as they would have had on a calmer occasion. In the heat of passion of having attained this glory, after the hardest struggle of more than half a century, bubbling over with their success and flushed with the pride of victory, they let them pass beyond the bounds of such susceptibilities and glorified the victor who had led them from one conquest to another for about a dozen years past. That the mistake, made in the highest excitement of the hour, was realized in saner, cooler and calmer moments is evident beyond all doubts.

With regard to the first objection Khushwaqt Rai on folio 104 of his *Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Panjab* says:—

”لاکن سکھ چند روز بماند باز بسبب حقارت نصف اسم کہ
در آن سکھ بماند موقوف کرد“

(“ But the coin enjoyed a few days of life, because its circulation was stopped on account of the contempt of the

half name which was imprinted on this coin)."

Remarking about the second objection the Muslim historian Ahmad Yadgar gives us to understand that the Sikhs felt sorry for giving the credit of their victory to a Sikh and not to the Guru. Consequently, they stopped the circulation of this coin and struck another in the name of the Guru :

"جسہ نام سکھ خود را بادشاہ مقرر کردہ سکھ پر سچ و زر
بدنیگونہ ساخت ۔

سکھ زد در جہاں بہ حکم اکال—تخت اچد گرفت جسا کلال
دیگر سکھان پر شوریدہ اورا ازیں امر مانع شدند و سکھ بنام
گرو مقرر کردند"۔

James Browne, writing about twenty years later than this event, says :

"Soon after the last expulsion of the Aumils of the Durranny Shah, the Sikhs held a general Diet at Amrutsur, in which they determined to call in the rupees which were struck in the name of Jessa Kelal, and to strike them for the future in the name of their Gooroos, with an inscription to this effect, 'Gooroo Gobind Sing, received from Nanuck, the Daig, the sword and rapid victory', which coin is current throughout their dominions to this day."²

The third objection upheld by many others³ has already been answered in the above quotations.

As regards objection No. 4, it seems probable that Jassa Singh never tried to impose his authority on his co-

¹ *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*, 173.

² *India Tracts*, ii, 27. "I have several of these rupees in my possession," *Ibid.*, footnote.

³ Cf. Lepel Griffin in *Rajas of the Punjab*, footnote on p. 461; C. T. Rodgers in the *Journal of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LIV, 1885, part i, pp. 67-76; R. C. Temple in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. XVIII, 1889, p. 321.

religionists. But on the contrary the latter appear to have insisted on Jassa Singh's name to be inscribed on the coin in confirmation with the current custom¹ of issuing coin in the name of the ruling person, more so because they had already established the practice of calling him *padshah*.²

Regarding the fifth point it may be declared without the least fear of contradiction that the Sikhs of those days were men of great sacrifice, deep faith, humble pretensions and simple nature. They never tried to hide from what stock they had come. Even the biggest chief seldom displayed any superiority over his followers even in dress, food or manners. Another example of this frankness and simplicity is afforded to us by the Bhangi Misl, the strongest unit of the Dal Khalsa. The term *Bhangi* is not a whit better than *Kalal*, but even the mightiest *Sardar* of this Misl felt proud to add the surname *Bhangi* to his name. Jassa Singh therefore would have felt no scruples in calling himself *Kalal*, particularly at a time when there was the question of rhyme of the verse to be inscribed on the coin.³

As to the statement of Ganesh Das it may be said that he does not give any source for this statement and is wholly unsupported by any other historian earlier or later. He compiled his account after the British annexation of the Panjab, nearly one hundred years after the event, apparently for the purpose of a district gazetteer, and therefore his

¹ "The striking of coins in India is a prerogative of royalty, and one which has always been exercised the moment a man sat on the throne." C. T. Rodgers in *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LIV, 1885, p. 67.

² Cf. *Khushwaqt Rai*, 102; *Ratan Singh*, 265-6; *Gyan Singh*, 571; *Prinsep*, 30; *M'Gregor*, i, 147; *Panjab Chiefs*, 172; *Raj Khalsa*, 378; *Sohan Lal*, i, Appendix, 27.

"جسا سنگھ اہلو والیہ خود را بادشاہ میگفت"

³ *Bhangi* means a person who is addicted to taking *bhāng*, an intoxicating liquor of dark green colour, prepared by pounding the leaves of hemp, a wild plant, often found along the river banks.

isolated authority cannot be accepted for historical facts. Moreover, he places this event in 1765, and refers to the Durrani invasion of 1766-7.¹

¹ *Risala-i-Sahib Numa*, 210.

”بصلاح صوابدید سردار حسا سنگه و گنڈا سنگه و جھنڈا سنگه
و غیره سرداران بهنگی در سمیت ۱۸۲۱ یک هزار و هشت صد و
بیست و یکم جلوس سمیت مانوس بکرماجیت سکه بنام گورو
گوبند سنگه نقره روپیه در دارالضرب زدند و این بیت ظفرنامه
را بر روپیه ها ثبت نمودند - دیگر تیغ و فتح نصرت بیدرنک -
یافت از نانک گورو گوبند سنگه - چنانچه در سرائی نکور و
سری امرتسر و بلده لاهور و سیالکوٹ و گجرات و غیره ممالک
پنجاب این سکه رواج یافت و چنان سکه محمد شاهی که سابق
مروج بود موقوف گردید از ینهمر علمایان تعصب پیشه پنجاب
بر چند روپیه بیت دیگر اختراع خود مسکوک کرده پیش احمد شاه
در کابل بردند -

سکه زد در چهار بفضل اکال تخت احمد گرفت حسا کلال
چنانچه از غایت جمعیت احمد شاه بادشاه فیرت برده باز
بتاریخ ۱۱۰۹ هـ یک هزار یک صد و هفتاد و نه و سال سمیت ۱۸۲۲
یک هزار و هشت صد و بیست و دو بکرمی یورش بر پنجاب آورد -

Griffin wrongly translates بیت (couplet) into (twenty) misreading it as "bist". *Rajas of the Punjab*, 461, footnote.

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MARATHI

The Marathi records relating to this period consist only of news-letters and reports. As such they supply original information with almost exact dates. A good deal of this material has been printed; while the rest is seeing the light gradually.

1. *S. P. D.*—Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, 45 Vols., edited by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, Vols. 2, 21, 27 and 29 in Marathi and "Miscellaneous Papers" in Persian have been chiefly drawn upon.

2. *Rajwade*.—Marathyanchnya Itihasachin Sadhanen, 21 Vols., edited by V. K. Rajwade and others. Volume XII chiefly consulted.

3. *Sardesai*.—Historical Papers relating to Mahadji Sindhia by Rao Bahadur G. S. Sardesai, the Alijah Darbar Press, Gwalior, 1937.

4. *H. P.*—Historical Papers of the Sindhias of Gwalior, 2 Vols. :—

(i) 1774—1794;

(ii) 1774—1793.

Published by the Honorary Secretary, Satara Historical Research Society, Satara, 1934.

5. *Parasnis*.—Despatches from Ahalya Bai's Court by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis, 2 Vols., published by Tukaram Javaji, proprietor N. S. Press, 23 Kolbat Lane, Bombay.

6. *Dilliyethil*.—Dilliyethil Raj Karnen, 2 Vols., by Rao Bahadur D. B. Parasnis.

7. *Maheshwar*.—Maheshwar Darbaranchi Batmipatren, 2 Vols.

ENGLISH

(a) Imperial Records.—

1. Bengal Select Committee Proceedings, 1769, 1770.
2. Secret Proceedings :—
 - 1776.—26th February.
 - 1786.—17th January.
 - 1789.—19th January.
 - „ —28th January.
 - „ —20th February.
3. Political Proceedings :—
 - 1792.—8th February, No. 20 ;
 - 23rd March, No. 4 ;
 - 3rd October, No. 21.
 - 1798.—29th October, No. 25.
4. Foreign Department, Select Proceedings, 19th April, 1779.
5. Secret Letters to Court, 1786, Vol. V.
6. General Letters to Secret Committee, 1786, Vol. V.
7. General Letters from the Secret Committee to Fort William, Vol. I.
8. Persian Correspondence, Letters Received, No. 165.
9. Persian Correspondence, Letters Written, No. 42.
10. Foreign Miscellaneous, No. 46, Secret Department, 7th July, 1797, Nos. 1—8.

(b) Printed Matter.—

1. *Dow*.—The History of Hindostan, Alexander Dow, 3 Vols., London, printed for T. Becket and P. A. De Hondt, in the Strand, 1768.
2. *Forster*.—A Journey from Bengal to England (1782-3), 2 Vols, by George Forster, an employee in the civil service of the East India Company in Bengal. Forster travelled in the guise of an Indian Muslim merchant

through the Panjab along the northerly route, skirting the lower spurs of the Himalayas. He gives an excellent account of the Sikhs and other Panjab affairs.

3. *Browne*.—History of the Origin and Progress of the Sicks in India Tracts, by Major James Browne, written in September, 1787 and printed in 1788. The author was the English Minister at the Court of Shah Alam at Delhi and during his stay he collected material about the history of the Sikhs and compiled his India Tracts.

4. *Malcolm*.—Sketch of the Sikhs, by Lieutenant-Colonel Malcolm, printed in 1812. The author was in the train of Lord Lake when the latter pursued Holkar to the Panjab. Malcolm collected information and material, wrote this account, and published it in Asiatic Researches, Vol. xi, pp. 197 to 293.

5. *Elliot and Dowson*.—The History of India as told by her own Historians, Vol. viii, London, 1877.

✓ 6. *Forrest*.—Selections from the letters, despatches and other State Papers preserved in the Foreign Department of the Government of India, 1772-1785, edited by George W. Forrest, 3 Vols., printed by the Superintendent Government Printing India, 1890.

7. *The Asiatic Annual Register*, for the year 1802. "A Character of the Seiks. From the observation of Col. Polier and Mr. Forster."

8. *Whitehead*.—Catalogue of Coins in the Panjab Museum, Lahore, by R. B. Whitehead, Vol. ii, "Coins of the Mughal Emperors, published for the Panjab Government, Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, 1914; Vol. iii, 1934.

SECONDARY SOURCES

PERSIAN

1. *Farhat*.—*Farhat-un-Nazirin*. Muhammad Aslam, 1770, Kapurthala State Library MS., P. U. L. rotograph. Rieu, i, 131; E.D., viii, 163 to 174. The author, an employee of Shuja-ud-daulah, compiled this work at the advice of Colonel Jean Baptiste Joseph Gentil. As compared with E. D. this manuscript appears an incomplete copy.

✓ 2. *Siyar*.—*Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin*, Sayyid Ghulam Husain, 1782, Calcutta edition of 1827 cited, P. P. L., Rieu, i, 280; Ethe, i, 416; E. D., viii, 194 to 198. The author, a Lucknow court noble, was employed by Warren Hastings to compile this work. It is a comprehensive history of India from 1707 to 1782. The work supplies a detailed account of the Panjab affairs, most of which seems to have been taken from *Khazana-i-Amira*. Its translations by Mustafa, a French renegade and by Hoey, are not reliable, being replete with numerous mistakes.

3. *Mujmil*.—*Mujmil-ut-Twarikh B'ad Nadiriya*, Ibn Muhammad Amin Abul Hasan Gulistani, edited by O. Mann, (Leyden, 1896), written 1782, J. N. S. The author's uncle, Muhammad Ishaq, was in the service of Nadir Shah. He came in India and settled at Murshidabad (Bengal); while the author lived at Lucknow. The work is based primarily on the author's personal knowledge, deals with the History of Iran, and gives a detailed account of Ahmad Shah Abdali and some of his Indian invasions.

4. *Chahar Gulzar*.—*Chahar Gulzar Shujai*, Harcharan-das, 1784, P. U. L. MS., Rieu, iii, 912; E. D., viii, 204 to 231.

The author was in the service of Shuja-ud-daulah of Oudh and dedicated this work to his master. It contains only brief references to the Panjab affairs.

5. *Tarikh-i-Muzaffari*.—Muhammad Ali Khan Ansari (nephew of Shakir, cf. *Tazkira-i-Shakir Khan*) belonged to a famous literary family of Panipat, 1787, P. U. L. MS., Rieu, i, 282; Ethe, i, 423; E. D., viii, 316 to 330. The author deals at length with the gradual decline of the Mughal Empire, giving a detailed account of the rise of the English, Marathas, Sikhs, Afghans and Rohillas. He, however, seems to have made free use of either *Khazana-i-Amira* or *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin*.

6. *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*.—Mustajab Khan, son of Hafiz Rahmat Khan, translated by Sir Charles Elliot, written 1792, Rieu, i, 307; Ethe, i, 587; E. D., viii, 301. It is a biography of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and gives very useful details about the history of Rohilkhand, the part played by some of the famous Rohilla Chiefs in Indian History, and invasions of Ahmad Shah Abdali. Its dates are often incorrect.

7. *Gul-i-Rahmat*.—Saadat Yar Khan, grandson of Hafiz Rahmat Khan and nephew of Mustajab Khan, Rieu, i, 308; iii, 905; Ethe, i, 588; E. D., viii, 302—12. This work is more copious than *Gulistan-i-Rahmat*. It was lithographed at Agra in 1836.

8. *Husain Shahi*.—*Tarikh-i-Husain Shahi*, Sayyid Imam-ud-din Husaini, 1798, O. P. L. B. MS., J. N. S. copy cited, Rieu, iii, 905; Ethe, i, 588. The work is a biography of Ahmad Shah Abdali, but it is not absolutely trustworthy.

9. *Ahwal-i-Adina Beg Khan*.—Anonymous, probably by a Panjabi Hindu, 1806, Br. M. MS., P. U. L. rotograph cited, also published as an appendix to the Oriental College Magazine, Lahore, for February, 1938, Rieu, iii, 1044. It is a biography of Adina Beg Khan, consisting of

12 folios of small size. Its language is poor, many words are misspelt, many dates and some details are wrong. It is the only work available on the subject.

10. *Imad-us-Saadat*.—Sayyid Ghulam Ali Rizwi, 1807, P. U. L. MS., lithographed at Lucknow, Rieu, i, 308; E. D., viii, 394 to 395. The author was in the service of Nawab Saadat Ali Khan. The work is a regular history of the Nawabs of Oudh, but it gives a good account of the Panjab events.

11. *Bakhtmal*.—Khalsa Namah, Diwan Bakhtmal, 1807, P. U. L. MS., Rieu, i, 294. It is a detailed history of the Sikhs. Sir John Malcolm used it as one of his authorities in the compilation of his "Sketch of the Sikhs."

12. *Khushwaqt Rai*.—Kitab-i-Tarikh-i-Panjab, Khushwaqt Rai, 1812, P. P. L. MS., Rieu, i, 294. The author was the agent and intelligencer of the British Government at Amritsar and compiled this valuable work at the desire of Sir Charles Metcalfe. The narrative comes down to 1811. It is an extremely valuable work on the Sikh history during the 18th century. It was freely consulted by Prinsep for his "Origin of the Sikh Power in the Panjab," by Murray for "Memorial of Captain Murray" and by the anonymous writer of "History of the Punjab and Rise, Progress, and present condition of the Sect and Nation of the Sikhs, 2 Vols., London, Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1846."

13. *Sohan Lal*.—Umdat-ut-Twarikh, Sohan Lal Suri, 1812, printed at the Arya Press, Lahore, in 1885. The author was the Court Chronicler of Maharaja Ranjit Singh, but his early account is based on the records kept by his father Ganpat Rai who had served Ranjit Singh's father and grandfather. It also seems probable that Sohan Lal made free use of Bakhtmal's *Khalsa Namah*. It is strange that Appendix to Sohan Lal's Vol. i, is an exact

copy of Ahmad Shah's *Tarikh-i-Panjab*, pp. 901 to 1014. Cf. No. 16, *infra*.

14. *Ibrat Miqal*.—Abdul Karim Kashmiri, 1816, P. P. L. MS. The work is a general history of Shah Alam and gives some useful information about the Panjab.

15. *Irshad-ul-Mustaqim*.—Aman-ul-Haq, 1818, P. P. L. MS. The work is a general history of Islam, India and Nizam of Hyderabad, but many useful details are also available about the Panjab.

16. *Ahmad Shah*.—*Tarikh-i-Panjab*, Ahmad Shah of Batala, 1820, Dyal Singh Library, Lahore, MS. It is a detailed history of the Panjab, particularly that of the 18th century. About its pages 901 to 1014 see No. 13, *supra*.

17. *Chahar Chaman*.—Daulat Rai, 1820, P. P. L. MS., Rieu, iii, 1058. It consists of four parts; the third which treats of various provinces, their divisions, area and income etc., is important.

18. *Tarikh-i-Imad-ul-Mulk*.—Abdul Qadir Khan alias Ghulam Qadir Khan of Jāyas in Oudh, 1834, M. R. S. MS., sketchy and not of much value.

19. *Tarikh-i-Salatin-i-Afghanan*.—Ahmad Yadgar, 1835, P. P. L. MS., E. D., v. No. xxxiv, gives a different description of the work. This voluminous work deals with the Afghan families in India and gives a good account of the invasions of Nadir Shah and Ahmad Shah.

20. *Ratan Chand*.—Khalsa Namah, Ratan Chand, Munshi to the Chiefs of Atari, 1843, P. U. L. MS.

21. *Narayan Kaul*.—*Tarikh-i-Kashmir*, Narayan Kaul, 1846, P. U. L. MS.

22. *Tarikh-i-Ahmad* alias *Muharbat-i-Salatin-i-Durrani*,

Abdul Karim, 'Ulwi, 1847, printed at the Mustfai Press, Cawnpore in 1847. The author was in the service of the British Government at Ludhiana and was sent on diplomatic mission to Khorasan. The work gives a good account of Abdali's wars with the Sikhs.

23. *Bute Shah*.—*Tarikh-i-Panjab*, Ghulam Muhayyud-din alias Bute Shah, 1848, P. U. L. MS., Rieu, iii, 953; Ethe, i, 503. The author, an employee of the British Government, compiled this huge work at the request of Col. Ochterlony who provided him with the material collected from various Sikh chiefs.

24. *Ganesh Das*.—*Risala-i-Sahib Numa or Char Bagh-i-Panjab*, Ganesh Das, 1849, K. C. L. MS., Rieu, iii, 952. The author belonged to a distinguished family of Qanungos of Gujrat district. His topographical description and account of the Sikhs is useful; but his story about the first Sikh Coin of Lahore is erroneous and entirely misleading.

25. *Miftah-ul-Twarikh*.—Danishwar Ali Khan, written for Thomas William Beale, a clerk in the office of the Board of Revenue at Agra, published by Nawal Kishore of Lucknow in 1867, E. D., viii, 441-4. It is a general history of India from early times to 1848 A.D., and is full of chronogrammatic dates relating to important events of Indian History. The author's account of the Panjab affairs is copied almost verbatim from *Siyar-ul-Mutakhirin*.

26. *Ali-ud-din*.—*Ibrat Namah*, Mufti Ali-ud-din of Lahore, 1854, I. O. L. MS., No. 3241 (E. 504), P. U. L. rotograph. The author was in the service of the British Government. The work is a geographical, statistical and historical description of the Panjab, with a detailed account of the 18th century.

27. *Shah Yusaf*.—*Halat-i-Multan*, Shah Yusaf, 1861, P. P. L. MS. The author, a resident of Multan, compiled

this work, at the desire of Colonel George William Hamilton, Commissioner of Multan Division. It is a history of the Multan province from early times to the date of its composition.

28. *Tarikh-i-Sultani*.—Sultan Muhammad Khan Durrani, written in 1864 and published in Bombay in 1880. The work is a history of Afghanistan, and gives a valuable account of Ahmad Shah Durrani and his wars with the Sikhs.

29. *Ala-ud-din*.—Mukhtsar Tarikh-i-Kashmir, Ala-ud-din Muhammad Mufti, Gulshan Rashidi Press, 1883.

URDU

1. *Afghanistan*.—Anonymous, printed at the Matb-ul-'Alum Madrisa, Delhi, 1851.

2. *Hayat-i-Afghani*.—Muhammad Hayat Khan, written in 1865 and printed at the Koh-i-Noor Press in 1867. The book is divided into three parts. The first deals with topography, commerce and general history of Afghanistan; the second with the history of Afghan people; while the third gives a full account of the Bannu district. The author's services were greatly appreciated by Mr. Mcleod, the Lt. Governor of the Panjab.

3. *Saulat-i-Afghani*.—Haji Muhammad Zardar Khan, published by Nawal Kishore at Cawnpore in 1876. It is a history of the Afghans, also giving a discursive account of the Muslim rulers of India. Besides it has a long chapter on Afghan genealogies. It also deals with the First Afghan War as it was known in Afghanistan.

4. *Abdul Majid*.—Tarikh-i-Afāghana, printed at the Abul Alai Steam Press, Agra, year of publication not given. ✓

GURMUKHI

1. *Ratan Singh*.—Prachin Panth Parkash, Ratan Singh Bhangu, about 1830, printed at the Wazir-i-Hind Press, Amritsar in 1914. The author compiled this work at the request of Captain Murray, the British Resident at Ludhiana. It is chiefly a history of the author's family; but all the important events of the Sikh history in the 18th century are woven round his family anecdotes. Ratan Singh's dates are accurate, and his account generally dependable.

2. *Gyan Singh*.—Panth Parkash, Gyani Gyan Singh, first printed in 1880 at the Murtazwi Press, Delhi. This voluminous work, written in Panjabi poetry, is a complete Sikh history, full of minute details, based upon Bute Shah, Ratan Singh and traditional accounts which the author collected from old men of his time by travelling over the province. The 1923 edition cited.

3. *Karam Singh*.—Maharaja Alha Singh, Karam Singh, 1918, published by the Chief Khalsa Diwan, Amritsar. The book is based on original sources and is very valuable.

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1. *Burnes, Alexander*.—Travels into Bokhara, being an account of a journey from India to Cabool, Tartary, and Persia etc., 3 Vols., London, John Murray, 1834.

2. *Calcutta Review*, 1870, 1875.

3. *Conolly, Arthur*.—Journey to the North of India, overland from England, through Russia, Persia, and Afghanistan, 2 Vols., London, Richard Bentley, 1834.

4. *Cunningham*.—A History of the Sikhs, from the Origin of the Nation to the Battles of the Sutlej by Joseph

Davey Cunningham, second edition, London, John Murray, Albemarle Street, 1853.

5. *District Gazetteers of the Panjab*.—Original editions, unless the year is cited.

6. *Elphinstone, Mountstuart*.—An Account of the Kingdom of Caubul and its Dependencies in Persia, Tartary, and India, etc., London, John Murray, 1815. *Kabul*

7. *Eyre, Vincent*.—The Military Operations at Cabul which ended in the Retreat and Destruction of the British Army, January, 1841; with a Journal of Imprisonment in Afghanistan, London, John Murray, 1843.

8. *Ferrier, J. P.*—History of the Afghans, London, John Murray, 1858.

9. *Francklin, W.*—The History of the Reign of Shah Aulum, London, printed for the author, by Cooper and Graham, 1798.

10. *Havelock, Henry*.—Narrative of the War in Afghanistan, in 1838-39, 2 Vols., London, Henry Colburn, 1840.

11. *Hough, W.*—A Narrative of the March and Operations of the Army of the Indus in the Expedition to Afghanistan in the years 1838, 1839, Calcutta, W. Thacker & Co., 1840.

12. *Hugel, Baron Charles*.—Travels in Kashmir and the Panjab, London, John Petheram, 1845.

13. *Imperial Gazetteer of India*, Panjab, 2 Vols., 1908.

14. *Indian Antiquary*, 1887, 1907.

15. *Irvine*.—Later Mughals, by William Irvine edited by Jadunath Sarkar, 2 Vols., M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta.

16. *J. A. S. B.*—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1885, Vol. Liv.

17. *Kennedy, Richard Hartley*.—Narrative of the campaign of the Army of the Indus in Sind and Kaubool, in 1838-39, 2 Vols., London, Richard Bentley, 1840.

18. *Latif, Sayyid Mohammad*.—A History of the Panjab, Calcutta, 1891.

19. *Malleson, J. B.*—History of Afghanistan, from the earliest period to the outbreak of the War of 1878, London, W. H. Allen & Co., 1878.

20. *Masson, Charles*.—Narrative of Various Journeys in Balochistan, Afghanistan, and the Panjab, including a Residence in those Countries from 1826 to 1838, 3 Vols., London, Richard Bentley, 1842.

21. *M'Gregor, W. L.*—History of the Sikhs, 2 Vols., London, James Madden, 1846.

22. *Mohan Lal*.—Travels in the Panjab, Afghanistan, and Turkistan to Balk, Bokhara, and Herat; and a visit to Great Britain and Germany, London, Wm. H. Allen & Co., 1846.

23. *Narang, Gokal Chand, (Sir)*.—The Transformation of Sikhism, Lahore, The Tribune Press, 1912.

24. *Punjab Chiefs*.—Historical and Biographical, by Lepel H. Griffin, London, 1869.

25. *Prinsep*.—The Origin of the Sikh Power in the Panjab, by H. T. Prinsep, Calcutta, 1834.

26. *Punjab States Gazetteers*, Vol. 17A, 1904, Phulkian States, printed at the Punjab Government Press, Lahore.

27. *Rajas of the Punjab*.—Lepel H. Griffin, London, Trubner & Co., 1873.

28. *Sarkar, J. N. (Sir)*.—Fall of the Mughal Empire, Vol. iii, M. C. Sarkar & Sons, Calcutta, 1938.

29. *Seir*.—A Translation of the *Seir Mutaqherin* by Seid—Gholam Hossein—Khan, Calcutta.

30. *Shahamat Ali*.—The History of Bahawalpur, London, James Madden, 8, Leadenhall Street, 1848.

31. *Sinha, N. K.*—Rise of the Sikh Power, by N. K. Sinha, Calcutta University publication, 1936.

32. *Sunder Singh*.—The Battles of Guru Gobind Singh, by Sunder Singh, Khalsa College, Amritsar, 1933.

33. *Vigne, G. T.*—A personal Narrative of a visit to Ghuznee, Kabul, and Afghanistan, London, Whittaker & Co., 1840.

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